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The Explorer increases world's pressure for a new summit parley

By Kumar Goshal

AS THE EXPLORER was launched into coexistence with Sputnik II, the world wondered if it might promote Washington-Moscow summit talks which could usher in coexistence on earth. There were hopeful signs at home and abroad—despite Secy. of State Dulles and the forces behind him who have placed all their eggs in the one basket of vast military expenditure.

Popular pressure abroad for a summit conference was reaching landslide proportions. The London **Daily Express** said a public opinion poll in Britain showed 83% in favor of a conference. In a series of articles in the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** last month, Britain's Royal Air Force Marshal Sir John Slessor exposed the fallacies of "limited war" and missile bases in West Europe for "massive retaliation" against Moscow; he urged summit talks, "giving priority to agreement [on] the atom free zone in the center of Europe."

On Jan. 29 British Prime Minister Macmillan echoed an earlier remark by Churchill, as he said: "I for one hope we shall be able to arrange jaw-jaw to ease East-West tension." Next day the pro-government **Daily Mail** and the pro-Labour Party **Daily Herald** said that Britain, France and the U.S. had decided to accept Moscow's call for a summit meeting "without a preliminary conference of foreign secretaries."

'INEVITABLE': Although Washington denied the British reports, **Newsweek** (1/3) said: "It's now definite. The U.S. will hold a high-level conference with the Russians. The West Europeans are demanding it. And the U.S. press and public clearly favor it, too." The N.Y. **World-Telegram** reported (2/1):

"Mounting public pressure in Europe has made a summit conference this year 'inevitable,' according to highly placed diplomats . . . The sources suggested that

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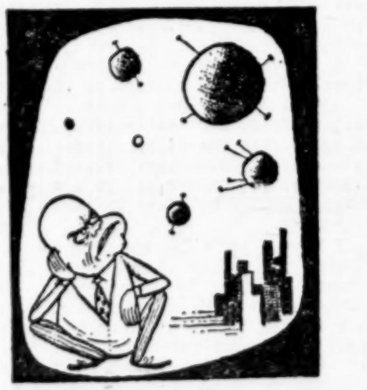
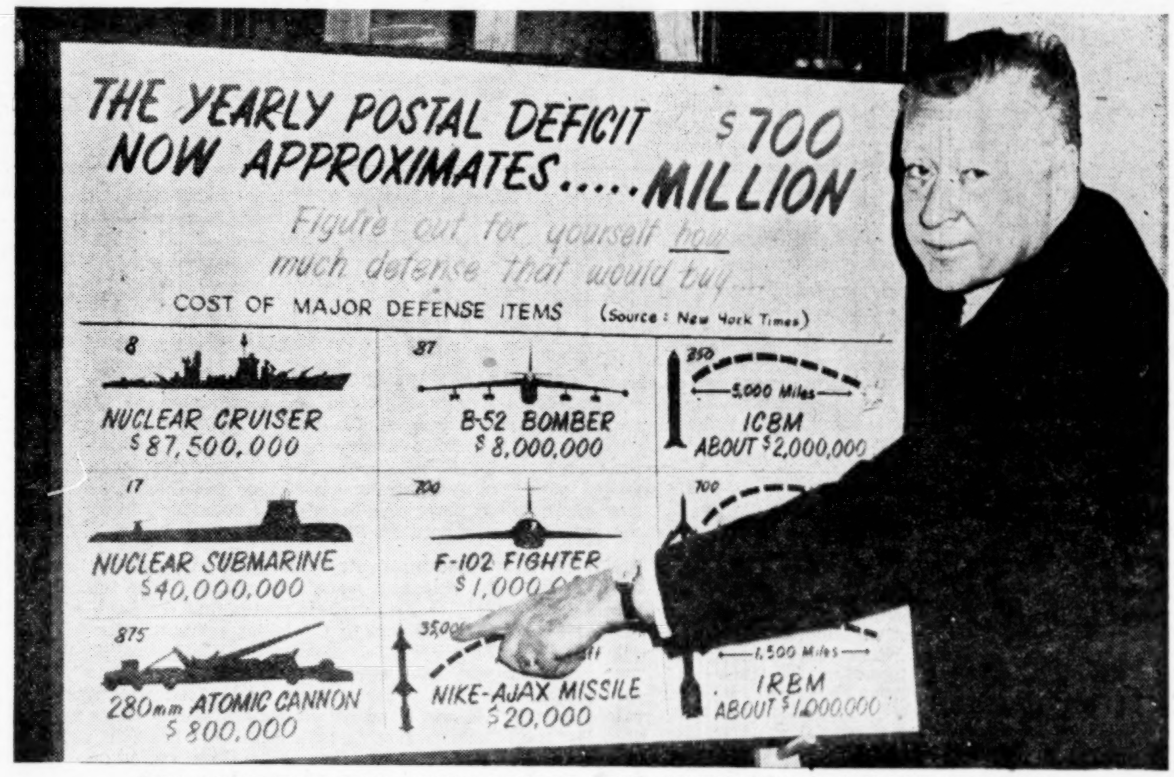


Canard Enchaine, Paris



HEY, LOOK HOW MANY DEAD PEOPLE YOUR 5-CENT STAMP CAN BUY FOR YOU!
What would you rather have: 17 nuclear submarines, 87 B-52 Bombers, or a three-cent stamp?

PROTESTS FAIL TO MOVE CONGRESS

House witch-hunters given renewed life without a fight

By Lawrence Emery

ALTHOUGH many legal experts considered that the Supreme Court decision in the now-famous Watkins case last June would effectively curb the House Committee of Un-American Activities, the House on Jan. 30 overwhelmingly granted the Committee's full request for a $305,000 appropriation for the coming year. Opponents of the Committee failed to muster the 44 votes required for a roll call on the issue.

Lone opponent of the committee to speak against it on the floor was Rep. Roy Wier (D.-Minn.), who argued that it has outlived its usefulness. When the voice vote was taken, only Wier's and perhaps one other were heard as Noes.

The House and Senate voted a total of more than $2,000,000 for their various investigating committees. Most were granted less than they asked for, but the Un-Americans got their full amount.

The Committee seemed sure in advance that it would stay in business as usual. The day before the vote, it announced that it will hold hearings in Gary, Ind., on Feb. 10-11 to inquire into "communist infiltration of the steel industry." About 15 witnesses are scheduled to be heard at public sessions.

CHICAGO PETITION: Public opposition to the committee failed to reach anywhere near groundswell proportions before the appropriation was voted, but a notable demand for its outright abolition had come from a group of 61 prominent Chicago citizens in the form of a petition to the 16 Chicago area Congressmen. The 61 consisted of university officials, professors, social workers, religious leaders, lawyers, trade unionists and civic leaders. They included Nobel Prize winner Harold C. Urey, and William C. Davidon, chairman of the Atomic Scientists of Chicago.

Their petition quoted copiously from the Supreme Court Watkins decision and said:

"We, therefore, now call upon members of the House of Representatives to recognize that its Committee on Un-American Activities operates under an indefensively broad charter; that it too often has served no valid legislative purpose; that its activities imperil American values; that the result of its methods lessens the dignity and high office of our elected Representatives.

"We urge that the standing committee on Un-American Activities be abolished."

BARENBLATT CASE: Labor's Daily had predicted that the Committee would

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AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT ON THE EXPLORER

Hurray! Now let's get down to inner space

"IT DEMONSTRATES TO ALL THE WORLD," said Secy. of State Dulles, "that when we put our mind to it we can do almost anything that can be done." It was a buoyant thing to say for one of Dulles' dour makeup but the world might well take this American pride in our own new moon at face value and suggest other projects.

The world will not long remember that we ran second when the Heavens were stormed if we come in first in some significant races down here in inner space. If "we put our mind to it," we could be first to stop the testing of nuclear weapons. If the proper fuel could be found to light a fire under the Secretary we could get such a declaration off the launching pad in record time. The wind is just right for it. We could steal a march on the Army, the Navy, the Air Force AND the Russians.

EVEN IF THE BOOST WE GOT from the Explorer does not carry us as far as that into the hearts of Mankind, it might at least haul Dulles up the mountain to a summit peace meeting. The London **Daily Herald** commented on the Explorer: "Let's have no more Dulles' sulks about meeting the Russians. Both sides can now negotiate at the summit from strength—if that comforts them." The Manchester **Guardian** said: "If the American achievement brings a meeting with the Russians nearer, at whatever level, we may all rejoice."

It is true that we are outweighed—Sputnik II checks in at 1,100 lbs. to the Explorer's 30—but we are in the same class; and Dulles, with a rocket in his pocket, need not feel defensive or belligerent.

Strength and cockiness have not always proved a good counsel. When we held a monopoly on the A-Bomb—and knew

(Continued on Page 6)

Count Me In

On our 1958 campaign for 10,000
new GUARDIAN subscribers

☐ I will help in my neighborhood (shop, local, political or other organization, on my campus or other area.)

☐ Send me a free bundle of 3 GUARDIANS weekly until further notice, to show around.

☐ Send me a supply of $1 introductory sub blanks and business reply envelopes.

☐ Reserve a copy of Vito Marcantonio's book "I Vote My Conscience" for me, as offered on p. 6.

Name ....

Address ....

City .... Zone .... State..............................

THE MAIL BAG

Lumberjack logic

FT. SEWARD, CALIF.

Isolated as we are in this mountain community of the timber belt, we can think of no better way to celebrate the advent of a New Year than to write a letter to the GUARDIAN, our favorite newspaper.

I think that nearly all the people on earth can agree that the most pressing need right now is peace. Just imagine a world free from the threat of H-bomb and missile war.

Fellow Americans! We are the people who now have the golden opportunity of bringing that kind of world into living reality!

Today, with both old parties in deadly competition to see which can be the "coldest" of the cold warriors, it would seem that it is time that the people took a hand in the game and see if we can't be the leader of the "free world" in a competition for peace, just for a change!

A powerful progressive coalition to re-create a third party is a vital need right now to stem this drift to war and oblivion. A conference should be called—now, early in this new year. All labor, farm, progressive and left groups should be asked to send delegates.

I hereby offer the aid of my little paper, **The Lumberjack News**, to help in this great struggle for a decent America. We can, and must build a great party free from the domination of big business. That, my friends, is what I would call working for peace in a great big way.

Tom Scribner

Depression ditty

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Here is a little song I wrote at work on the street, grinding shears behind my '53 Plymouth. Tune: "Everybody Works but Father."

Everybody works in Russia,
While we sit around all day,
Awaiting the boss' pleasure,
Who shall work today?

Winton A. Smith

All for Hobart

PLYMOUTH, N. H.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Gov. Knight (R.-Cal.) says he keeps emergency food supplies in his State-owned limousines in case of a bombing attack. And he urges other Californians to do the same thing.

—L.A. **Mirror-News, 1/24**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Ron Sabaroff, Palo Alto, Calif.

Your Jan. 13 piece by Hobart McKean, "The Job Ahead For The American Left," is one of the very best that has ever graced the pages of the GUARDIAN. This writer's (mental) feet are on the ground. The GUARDIAN would do well by cooperating with him to lengthen that article and bring it out in pamphlet form to sell at 10c to the American herd of blind kine that have been fed on lies, promises and prayers until they wouldn't know Truth if they saw her parading Broadway native.

I should like to see that author a regular contributor to the GUARDIAN. He hits the target wtih every shot.

Fred Berry

Jim for Gov.

NELSON, NEB.

If L.A.'s Mr. Buchanan wants a Roosevelt in the White House (Mailbag 12/9) why not persuade James to enter the California '58 gubernatorial primary as an independent Democrat. The stinko Democratic machine out there would not endorse him, but he won his Congressman's job without its support. As Gov., Roosevelt would control a big Democratic delegation in '60. Louisiana has independent Democrats, why not California? GUARDIAN readers interested in encouraging Jim could write to him at the House Office Building, Washington, D.C., or his L.A. address, 308 West Adams Blvd.

P. J. Donnelly

Yoo-hoo, Lew!

FLUSHING, N. Y.

Will reader Lew B. whose letter was published in the Dec. 30 GUARDIAN kindly identify himself in some other fashion in any future correspondence. This will oblige yours truly, who is now being called upon by some acquaintances to defend views with which he does not necessarily agree nor disagree.

Lou Becker

A school fights on

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

The California Labor School is still in the fight. But through an oversight we were not mentioned in the Jan. 20 GUARDIAN in Louis Burnham's able news story on the current U.S. Circuit Court victory over the Subversive Activities Control Board.

Our school was padlocked May 3, 1957, by agents of the U.S. Government, but we have never stopped fighting the subversive actions of the Attorney General and the SACB, and we intend to carry on the battle to final victory.

We are jubilant at the decision that the SACB and the FBI must produce the secret reports of such informers as Mary Stalcup Markward. The government presented a barnyard collection of such in our hearing, and the SACB refused to allow attorney George Anderson to see their reports to the FBI.

Like the Natl. Council of American-Soviet Friendship we have taken our case to the Circuit Court of Appeals as a part of our struggle to repeal the McCarran Act. We are defending the democratic right of the people to establish such schools as they wish to inform the people.

Holland Roberts
P.O. Box 392,
San Francisco 1, Calif.

On Left books

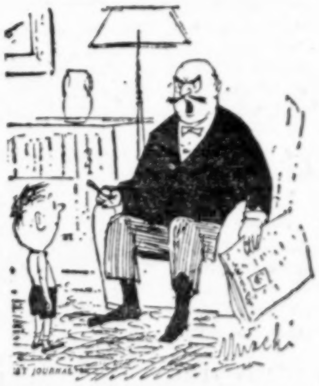
NEW YORK, N. Y.

It has been our experience that Left books, no matter how good and no matter how distinguished their authors, are seldom reviewed in the commercial press. Monthly Review Press and other Left publishers must, therefore, depend on the progressive journals like the NATIONAL GUARDIAN for reviews.

We are grateful for the reviews by Cedric Belfrage of two of our forthcoming publications—**A New Birth of Freedom?** by Konni Zilliacus (Dec. 23), and **The South African Treason Trial** by Forman and Sachs (Jan. 27).

In both instances the list price was given, correctly, as $5 per copy. However, I think GUARDIAN readers should know that publication date for the books is March 27, and until that time, we are offering them at the pre-publication price of $3 per copy.

Leo Huberman
Monthly Review Press
66 Barrow St.



Wall Street Journal

"Of course I'm a reactionary."

What will you do?

NEW YORK, N.Y.

There is a wonderful man who has a favorite greeting for his friends: "What have you done for Morton Sobell today?" This is a question each one of us should ask ourselves as Sobell alone in his Alcatraz cell faces another night of his 8th year of imprisonment.

Will you write to us telling what you can do to help in our appeal for action by One Million Americans? The National and New York office is at 940 Broadway (entrance on 22d St.), New York.

If you live in the New York area, please come to the office to volunteer. We are open each week night until 9 p.m. If you live elsewhere, write and we will send you material and the address of your nearest Sobell office.

Whatever we do is a small sacrifice compared to the courageous fight of Morton Sobell, who wrote recently: "It's a really rainy night out with the wind howling. It's so long, in time and vision, that I can hardly recall the meaning of the warmth of being inside a home, or any place but a cell house."

Ted Jacobs
for the Sobell Committee

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Vol. 10, No. 17 401 February 10, 1958

REPORT TO READERS

The Cleveland Case

AS THE GUARDIAN WENT TO PRESS with our last issue, a federal court jury in Cleveland was considering the "evidence" against seven people accused of conspiracy in Ohio to file and cause others to file false Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavits. After less than a day's deliberation, the jury on Jan. 29 found all seven guilty. The "evidence"—testimony of nine government informers, some of whom had never seen some of the defendants in the case—was entirely uncorroborated. Sentencing was set for Feb. 14.

Unless it is upset in higher courts—and even while the case moves through the ponderous machinery of U.S. justice toward the appeals levels—the Cleveland decision means that the Dept. of Justice has found a new shortcut to (1) jailing militant union leaderships wholesale for alleged T-H violation; (2) jailing politically-active individuals who have signed T-H affidavits any time within the last five years (and possibly within the last ten years, since the passage of the T-H law); and (3) jailing Communist Party leaders via "conspiracy" charges now that the Smith Act has been virtually nullified by Supreme Court and lower court decisions.

AT THE MINIMUM the Cleveland decision has established a legal precedent for finding anyone who quit the CP to sign a T-H affidavit guilty of conspiracy with the CPUSA leadership. In a case awaiting the Cleveland decision, the whole onetime leadership of the Mine, Mill union is under indictment on a similar charge. It is an open secret that a a federal grand jury in New York has called 100 or more people in connection with like charges to be brought against other union leaderships. The government has six such actions in preparation.

In the Cleveland case, only two of the defendants had signed affidavits; the other defendants were Ohio CP leaders or functionaries. Indicted as co-conspirators, but not this time as defendants, were eight national CP leaders, all of whom have already faced jail or served terms under the Smith Act. In subsequent proceedings attempts can now be made to jail CP leaders who have already served Smith Act terms, or whose convictions under that Act have been voided by Supreme Court or lower court actions.

The Cleveland case centered around Marie Reed Haug, a former United Electrical Workers officer, but not now affiliated with any union. Mrs. Haug signed T-H affidavits in the years 1950-53. She testified that she had resigned from the CP in 1949 in order to do this, following a UE convention decision to comply with the T-H law in order to obtain the services of the Natl. Labor Relations Board.

It mattered little, really, whether Mrs. Haug had in fact ever been a CP member. The same stoolpigeon array which testified to the jury's satisfaction on her affiliation with the Nat'l Negro Labor Council and the Progressive Party have provided "proof" of CP membership, as the witness Matusow did in the T-H trial of Clinton Jencks. Matusow later recanted this testimony, but the Jencks conviction stood until it was reversed last year on other grounds—that the defense had been denied access to FBI records of Matusow's reports and thus could not check his stories during the trial.

THE CLEVELAND DEFENDANTS now have the burden—without trade union backing except for rank-and-file contributions—of carrying their case through to the Supreme Court if necessary.

Enlightened self-interest would seem to us to dictate that union leaderships—especially those unions of which the key defendants have been members—should now join in the further defense steps necessary. Men and women who like Mrs. Haug, participated in fine progressive activities, should also contribute. Until a single joint defense committee is set up, we suggest that contributions be sent directly to the Haugs, 14720 Milverton Rd., Cleveland 20.

—THE GUARDIAN

P.S. Uurgent defense efforts like the above will be better helped if the GUARDIAN has more readers. Our campaign for 10,000 new subscribers has gotten off to a good start, but it is as yet no landslide. Show this week's GUARDIAN to a friend and suggest a $1 trial subscription (coupon on p. 6). Sign up a GUARDIAN ally in your own neighborhood, for the duration of our 10,000-sub drive (coupon on this page, upper left). Let's get organized for the battles to be won by good-thinking Americans, for peace and political decency.

WEST COAST LONGSHOREMEN POINT THE WAY

A fighting union's call for political action

From Jan. 14 to 16 the 16-man policy-making Executive Board of the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, of which Harry Bridges is president, met in Honolulu to survey three problems: (1) the fight of the 15,000 ILWU sugar workers in Hawaii to win a wage increase from 26 sugar companies—a fight to which it pledged full support; (2) the international situation; (3) the domestic political and economic outlook.

On world affairs it called for a program to "negotiate differences, reduce armaments, and end nuclear bombing tests;" urged the opening of trade with all countries and the use of America's resources "for the broadest kind of economic aid with no strings attached;" asked the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. "to negotiate and compromise on those issues which lend themselves to a solution."

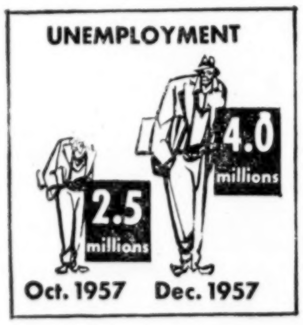
The GUARDIAN feels that the ILWU statement on the domestic scene is one of the clearest and most constructive statements of its kind recently issued. Major excerpts are printed herewith.

LABOR PROBERS SEN. McCLELLAN (r.) AND ROBERT KENNEDY
"Curbing the unions" has become a good political slogan again

THERE HAS seldom been a time in America's peacetime history when the country was more in need of the vision and guidance which a vigorous, democratic and independent labor movement can give to our political life. Over the past ten years each of the major political parties had an opportunity to try its hand at running the affairs of this nation. It's a toss-up as to which group did a more miserable and incompetent job for the people.

Part of the explanation of the shopworn level of American political life today lies in the fact that it was in this same past decade that the leaders of the labor movement traded off their political independence for a handful of White House favors; labor's traditional independence was replaced by a mealy-mouthed evasion of controversy with the powers that be. And now the official spokesman of labor, George Meany, sums up the position in which the unions—and the nation—find themselves by proclaiming: "We have no argument with the system; we just want our share."

IN THIS POINT OF VIEW lies the tragedy of labor's ineffectiveness and the terms of labor's abdication of its responsibility to help determine America's future. . . . This is why we must anticipate that Congress and the political leaders of the country will continue to write laws and policies which have little to do with the people's needs and aspirations; and that this will go on so long as the great power of the union movement is confined and diverted into the same kind of a quibbling over the division of the spoils which motivates the major political parties.



Drawing by Fred Wright

There was a time, in the not so distant past, when labor's immediate legislative and political program was much more than a pious hope or a string of empty pledges to long-dead beliefs. Instead of looking to its "share," the labor movement presented a whole series of social objectives. . . . There were no important national issues on which labor did not have a valid position—if it affected the people, the unions were concerned and ready to act . . .

The ILWU has never believed that political alliances or even legislative victories are any substitute for the economic power of the union. On the other hand, we have always held that American unionism must have a wider social purpose than the bare establishment of collective bargaining; otherwise, it becomes inevitable that in the long run the working people will never come to enjoy the full benefits of society and of its great wealth . . .

TODAY THERE IS NO disagreement among the experts that the United States has already slid into a serious economic recession. The economic signposts point to a considerable decline in output, income, and employment in the next months. Whatever difference of opinion there is among the experts refers only to the depth and duration of the slump which is now underway . . .

Meanwhile, the arguments about what should be done and how it should be done going on in the top circles of Washington couldn't be more unrealistic or further from the point. It is obvious, for example, that the proposals being advanced to cope with the economic recession are completely indifferent to the kind of basic public policy consideration for which the ILWU has always stood—the belief that the government should serve the needs of the people and not that the people should sacrifice for the government.

For example, the Republicans still stand fast for a balanced budget and business as usual. They hopefully expect that the recession will blow itself out like an early morning fog. The Democrats, seizing upon the sputnik and the recession, are demanding substantial increases in military expenditures and more war preparations as an answer to the domestic and foreign policy crisis in which the government now finds itself.

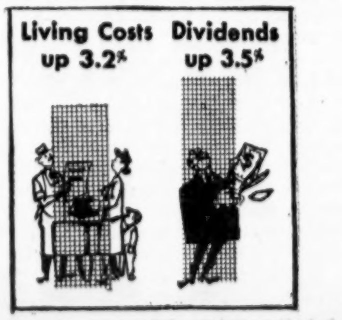
Neither party promises anything whatsoever for the member of this union except more of what we're now having. We want less not more of this kind of an approach.

PROBLEMS CAN'T BE solved by "TV and sympathy." Nor can a stepped up program of mlitary spending-by-itself reverse the down trend. . . . The only really effective prop to the economy is to increase the wages and spending power of the working people.

There seems to be one field in which both parties do agree legislation is urgently needed. "Curbing the power of the unions" has become a good political slogan once again. And we can expect that as the economic difficulties increase, and as more and more Americans feel the pinch, there will be plenty of politicians holding up the labor movement as the reason for everyone's troubles and worries.

It is not surprising that when the labor movement abdicates its role many reactionary, backward politicians from the South, and ambitious anti-labor office-seekers from California and elsewhere, can wheel and deal in an attempt to grab political and economic power for themselves.

Because labor spokesmen stand for no independent program in which all Americans of goodwill can find some answers to their problems, major political leaders dare campaign today for ending the 40-hour week or saddling new, restrictive legislation on the labor unions. And these—along with truculence and belligerence overseas—are offered as solutions to the material and emotional insecurities which have seized so many of our fellow Americans.



Drawing by Fred Wright

IF, AS THE ILWU believes, the recession is serious and could well become more so, it is doubly important to begin thinking of a people's program which tries to meet the problem at the same time that it takes the burden off the backs of the workers, small businessmen, and small farmers.

There are constructive and worthwhile policies which could be followed both at home and abroad in any serious program aimed at turning the corner of the recession and at the same time furthering the principles and the ideals for which the United States has always stood . . .

In the few years since Eisenhower has been in office, the population of the United States has increased by 13,000,000. And simply to relieve the pressure on existing facilities for all these new people demands an expansion and not a constriction of spending on schools, hospitals, homes, recreation facilities, and roads. We are not getting them. . . "Guns, not butter" is no slogan for the American people.

Moreover, the danger is that once embarked on heavier military spending, the climate in the United States will become increasingly hostile to the civil rights of racial and national minority groups, to trade unions, and to the democratic liberties of the American people as a whole. Secy. of State Dulles himself emphasized this when he responded to the Russian sputnik by warning that "the American people must be prepared to give up some of their marginal freedoms."

On the contrary, and despite Dulles' proposal that people start sacrificing, this is a time for more freedoms for the American people — not less — and for a higher standard of living and not a declining one.

THE ILWU EXECUTIVE Board pledges to use these simple benchmarks to measure all political figures and domestic policies in the months ahead. However, we have no illusions that either of the major political parties will immediately respond to the needs of our times along the lines proposed by the ILWU. On the other hand, we do not propose to sit out the political contests because our point of view is not clearly and unequivocally put forward, or because an ideally independent form of labor political activity is not yet established.

The ILWU is ready to meet with anybody and everybody. It is time that people who agree even on the most minimum of a decent program sat down together to see what they can do by pooling their strength and their influence.

These are the planks which we feel could well be agreed upon:

- Fight the increased power of monopoly and big business.
- Begin to use the nation's natural resources for the people's welfare.
- Use the nation's wealth for a national health program, for an improved education system and for similar objectives which private enterprise has failed to provide.
- Negotiate away international differences to help build a more peaceful world; open up trade with all countries and extend economic aid without strings or commitments.
- Resist to the utmost by political and, where necessary, economic action, any further restrictions on labor's right to organize, bargain and strike; and to gain an ever increasing share of the nation's wealth through shorter hours and improved living standards.

French leaders ask Smith Act amnesty

On Jan. 27 the U.S. Supreme Court, 8-0, denied a rehearing to Gilbert Green and Henry Winston, the last of the Communists serving prison sentence under the Smith Act. The convictions were upheld in a Court decision in 1951.

SIX LEADING French intellectuals have urged President Eisenhower to grant amnesty to Gilbert Green and Henry Winston, Smith Act prisoners. The amnesty appeal was presented to an aide of the President during the NATO Conference. The six signers were: Louis Aragon, writer; Frederic Joliot-Curie, winner of a Nobel prize in physics; Francis Jourdain, author; Pablo Picasso, painter; Edouard Pignon, painter; and Roger Vaillant, author, awarded the famed 1957 Goncourt prize for literature.

The appeal urged the freeing of the Smith Act prisoners on the grounds that they were "imprisoned for no other reason than that they held certain opinions and were leaders of the Communist Party of the U.S."

The action in France was in response to letters written to French leaders by Mrs. Lillian Green in behalf of her husband and his co-defendant, Henry Winston. These two, who still face a possible six years in detention, are the only persons in the U.S. now in prison as a result of Smith Act convictions.

ART OF EXAGGERATION

Press foments 'crime war' in the schools

By Elmer Bendiner

THIS WAS THE TIMETABLE of what the N.Y. newspapers headlined as a "reign of terror" by Brooklyn school children:

On Tuesday, Jan. 22, a 13-year-old girl running an errand for her teacher at the John Marshall Junior High School (JHS 210) in Brooklyn was stopped on the stairway by a 15-year-old boy who allegedly forced her at knife-point to accompany him to the basement where he raped her.

Two days later a policeman scuffled briefly with a group of boys in the John Marshall school yard and one swung at him. Another boy aimed a punch at a recreation leader in the school basement. None of these boys were pupils at John Marshall. The school itself had had no serious trouble. It was not on the "difficult" list.

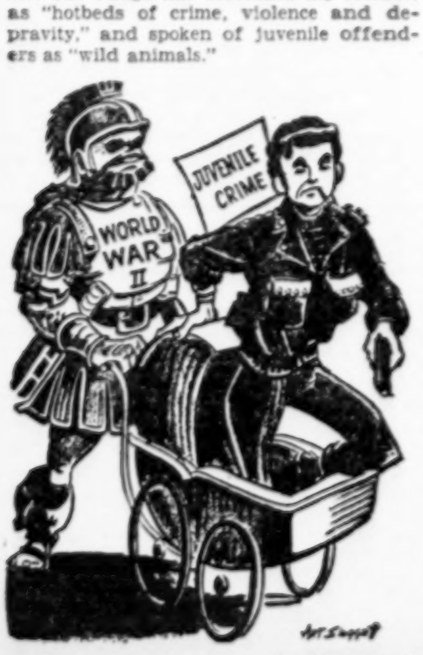
But overnight it became the "rape-case school" as the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** called it; a front-line in the "school crime war" according to the N.Y. **World Telegram.**

UN-GRAND JURY: A Kings County grand jury which has been investigating school conditions in nothing like the detached calm and secrecy for which grand juries are instituted, came up almost daily with headline-making presentments, demanding that police patrol school corridors. At first they wanted cops in every school, then indicated they would settle for the "difficult" schools.

Educators in and out of the Board of Education opposed the idea. The job was to stiffen the teacher's authority, not undermine it. Discipline, they said, was necessary, but not prison discipline.

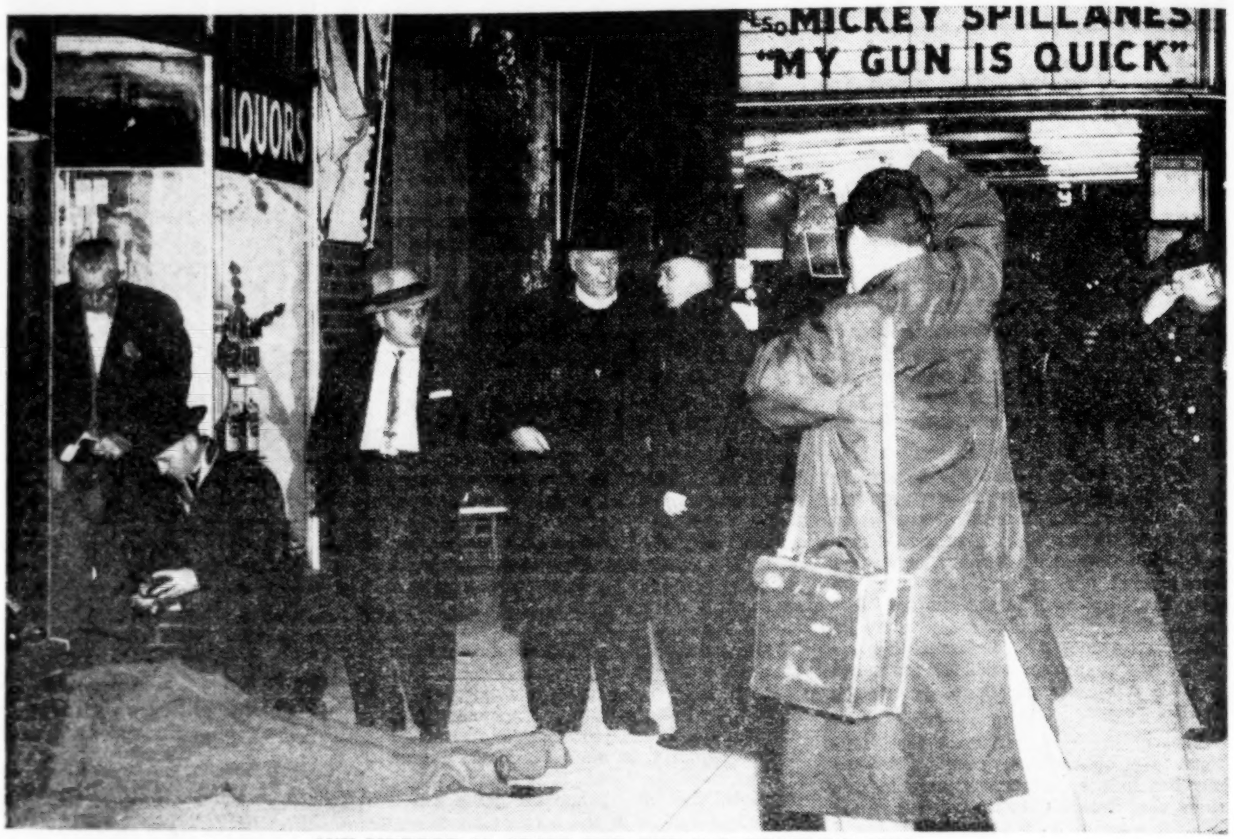
Kings County Judge Samuel S. Liebowitz, known to many as a "hanging judge," turned his courtroom into a launching platform for daily blasts from himself and the grand jury against "punks" and "monsters," by which he meant offending children, and against the Board of Education.

In the past Judge Liebowitz has grabbed headlines by advocating capital punishment and nightstick rule, and exonerating police who shoot first and investigate later. He has urged that reporters be admitted to Children's Court where closed-door rules now prevent public pillorying of kids in trouble. The Judge has described the schools as "hotbeds of crime, violence and depravity," and spoken of juvenile offenders as "wild animals."



New York Mirror

His baby comes of age!



ANY MURDER IS GRIST FOR THE N.Y. HEADLINE MILL

Louis Cuomo, 21, (above) was shot down in a Brooklyn street, but the papers made it a part of "class-room crime."

THE VICTIM: Three times the grand jury summoned George Goldfarb, principal of John Marshall JHS, to testify. On the third time he failed to appear. On Jan. 27 his body was found in a courtyard of his apartment house. On the roof of the six-story building police found his umbrella. In his pockets were press clippings about his "rape-case school."

Education officials answered the salvos from judge and jury by charging that a threat of indictment and other forms of harassment had driven Goldfarb to suicide. Jury spokesmen denied any threats were made but it was clear that the soft-spoken and much-liked principal had been caught in a cross-fire, his ordeal flood-lit by a sensation-seeking press.

On the evening of Jan. 28 another 13-year-old girl left P.S. 20, also in Brooklyn, after taking part in activities of the Board of Education's community program designed to combat delinquency. As she turned a corner of the school building, a 16-year-old boy allegedly seized her, dragged her to the school basement and there raped her. The crime seemed patterned after press reports of the earlier rape. A policeman stationed outside heard the girl's screams and arrested the boy.

THE HEADLINES: The newspapers added to the crime wave: the stabbing of two girls by a group of boys, a fatal shooting by rival gangs in Flatbush, the stoning of a school near the Brooklyn Navy Yard, the reported breaking up of a "rumble" being prepared by two other gangs. None of these incidents were in any way connected with the schools but it added up to a journalistic "class-room" crime spree.

The grand jury fed into the newspapers other stories, as yet unverified, of the capture of one school by a gang and the intimidation of a teacher and principal. Jury foreman A. George Golden asked Judge Liebowitz: "What would happen if thousands of parents in New York City were to start a boycott of these schools?"

To demands for cops in the corridors, Supt. of Schools William Jansen said: "We do not want a Little Rock in New York." But he had little else to offer and yielded to the point of accepting police patrols in 41 city schools. There was no hysteria at the Board offices as there was in Judge Liebowitz's court, but there seemed also a persistent effort to blink the problem and muddle through, changing the designation of "difficult" school to "special service" school to sugar-coat a grim situation. In 1957 there were more than 1,280 arrests on school grounds for offenses that included one murder, ten rapes, 48 complaints of other morals violations and 114 complaints of felonious assault. There are close to 1,000,000 students in N.Y. City schools.

THROW 'EM OUT: Mayor Wagner, returning from Puerto Rico, expressed concern and asked for new reports but had only one suggestion: let children stop school at 14 instead of 16 as the present law provides. It was in line with the Liebowitz-grand jury doctrine of throwing troublesome kids out on the street.

It seemed to fly in the face of the nationwide demand for more education in the sputnik era. It fitted in with the growing notion among some educators that education ought to be spent only on an "elite" who can "repay" society with special achievements. In the turbulent, still unintegrated school system of New York such a philosophy might cut out of the schools many Negro and Puerto Rican children who in large numbers attend "difficult" schools.

Meanwhile a school budget which might have provided at least part of the answer was slashed to the bone last week when the Board of Education surrendered to the Mayor's demand to cut more than $30,000,000 out of the school appropriation. That sum would have provided for smaller classes, additional staff psychologists, guidance teachers and remedial reading teachers. Studies have shown the close tie-up between reading ability, greater school interest and lower delinquency rates. At John Marshall JHS, each guidance counselor must serve 200 children.

ADULTS THE KEY: A joint statement issued last week by Teachers Union president Abraham Lederman and legislative representative Rose Russell charged that years of "starvation budgets" have "cheated our children." They asked that $50,000,000 be added to the budget to provide smaller classes, teachers' raises and special services. They said: "The school budget will be the measure of the Mayor's sincerity."

The key problem was all-around adult delinquency. If the children were taking their moral tone from their elders it looked like a rough generation. This instructive item from Los Angeles ran in the New York press: A love-struck railroad worker stood on a 12th-floor ledge of a hotel, preparing to jump. Below him a crowd of 2,000, eager for thrills, shouted: "Chicken! Coward! What are you waiting for? Jump!" He almost leaped, he confided after he was rescued, because he was "afraid to disappoint the crowd."

Children, too, follow the crowd.

THE PENALTY IS DEATH

95 in South Africa face treason trial

THE PRELIMINARY hearing for 95 defendants in South Africa's treason trial ended in Johannesburg on Jan. 30 and all of the accused were committed for trial. They were released in bail which followed a racial pattern: $700 for each of the 17 whites; $280 for the 18 Indians; $140 for the 58 Africans and two Coloreds.

The preliminary hearing—similar to a U.S. grand jury hearing—began on Dec. 20, 1956, and was the longest in South African history.

The Strijdom government charges the defendants with high treason—the maximum penalty is death—for subscribing to a "Freedom Charter" calling for a popularly elected democratic government and advocating racial equality.

In his concluding plea, defense counsel Vernon Berrange said that the prosecution of the 95 stemmed from the government's desire to "stifle all public opinion, all freedom of expression, and all legal acts which aim at the eradication of laws that are an affront to Christian and social conscience."

QUAKERS TACKLE 'RIDDLE'

Coexistence conference in Cambridge Feb. 14-15

"THE RIDDLE OF COEXISTENCE" is the theme of a two-day conference to be held by the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) on Feb. 14-15 at the Shady Hill School, Cambridge, Mass.

There will be an intensive program of lectures, panels and group discussion featuring Rupert Emerson, Prof. of Government, Harvard U.; Owen Lattimore, Prof. of Far Eastern History, Johns Hopkins U.; Frederick Schuman, Prof. of Government, Williams College; and James Warburg, director of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

The conference fee is $3 ($1.50 for students). Advance registration must be made and the Committee will try to help out-of-town students find overnight housing. Registrations should be sent to the Friends Committee, P. O. Box 247, Cambridge 38, Mass.

STATE DEPT. CALLED SHORT ON WISDOM

Waldo Frank scores China travel ban

Waldo Frank, one of America's best-known writers (thirty books) and an expert on the history and culture of the Americas, has been denied a passport for travel to China. He was invited to give a course of lectures at the University of Peking and to study present-day China. Following is his statement, issued Jan. 27, on the State Dept.'s action.

I FIND IT HARD TO JUSTIFY the State Dept.'s refusal to let me deliver a course of lectures at the University of Peking. Underlying this is the premise that our Government has the right, for undivulged reasons of international policy, to interfere with the free cultural activities of its citizens at home or abroad. This "right" is, of course, taken for granted by an authoritarian State. It contradicts—if continued it would destroy—the very essence of our democratic system, which our Constitution framed and was intended to safeguard.

As a matter of fact, freedom of cultural relations between members of different countries long antedates political democracy, and underlies it. Without it, there would have been no Europe; without it, there would have been no China (once a chaos of warring states); without it, no Constitution such as ours could have been conceived. The right of intellectuals to communicate, *even when their respective states are at war,* was not challenged. Therefore, the potential of peace and understanding between peoples was preserved. If Mr. Dulles realized the dangerous implications of his policy of intellectual blockade toward China, he would be horrified.

THIS IS NO ACADEMIC question. The Chinese are about a quarter of the whole human race, and the oldest of all living civilizations. Can we possibly know too much about them? Can we safely throw away any chance of telling them directly about *us?* Whether I go to China is of little importance. I speak simply because I happen to represent a principle. But we have in our country some of the world's greatest Sinologists. They too are not permitted to go. A State Dept. with a vital policy would be urging them to go to China.

Washington is sure that the Chinese authorities are less interested in their students' knowing about our poets than in playing a political game. Of course. And what of it? Are we so timid about our basic values that we don't dare play? This is a question Mr. Dulles might ask himself with profit.

If I went to China, what would happen? I would say what I wanted to say about America. Would I be stopped by the authorities who invite me? That would argue a stupidity on their part, which they have not revealed. I would write articles—probably a brief book—on what I felt and found. This would be a humble contribution to that understanding of Asia upon which depends the West's survival, with all our supreme values. Is the State Dept. troubled that I might find some good in the Chinese people and in what they are performing?

ONE OF MY TASKS would be to report on what I found in over a score of Spanish—and Portuguese—language papers from the U.S. south to Uruguay and Chile, who regularly print my "column"—which is not "news" so much as interpretation of news. By not giving me a passport for China, Mr. Dulles is thus interfering with the press of all America. As a mere matter of inter-American relations, this seems something short of wisdom.

The peace without which we shall all perish requires the circulation of ideas and of knowledge free and unimpeded like the circulation of the blood in a healthy organism. This is a deeper activity than politics; and upon it creative politics depends.

—Waldo Frank

PRINCIPAL'S SUICIDE MOURNED

Attacks on schools termed 'lynch spirit' against children

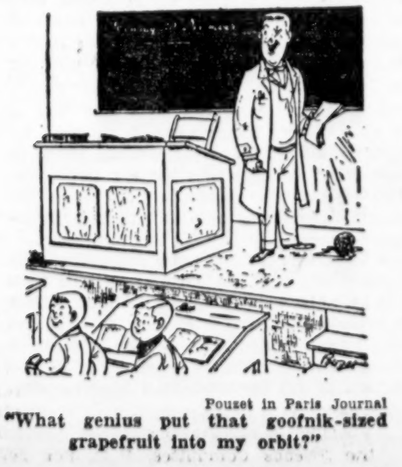
By Louis E. Burnham

PARENTS AND COMMUNITY leaders closest to the situation strongly contended last week that the "crime wave" in the Brooklyn public schools was more evident in the newspapers than in the school corridors and class rooms. They held that the headlines were creating a lynch spirit against the children and adding unnecessary difficulties to the task of integrating white and Negro school children throughout the borough.

Rev. Milton Galamison, pastor of Siloam Presbyterian Church and president of the Brooklyn branch NAACP, said that there "is not an actual crime wave." Routine offenses in the schools, he said, have been "grossly exaggerated." Leaders of the Parent-Teachers Assns. in the Crown Heights and Flatbush areas echoed Rev. Galamison's view.

'A GOOD PRINCIPAL': Mrs. Vivian Mason is vice-president of the PTA at the John Marshall Junior High School 210. On Jan. 28 the school principal, Dr. George Goldfarb, plunged to his death from the roof of his apartment building at the very hour he was scheduled to make his third appearance before a grand jury investigating violence in the schools. Mrs. Mason said she was "shocked and grieved" because Dr. Goldfarb was a "good principal" who was "always willing to listen" and "attended every meeting of the PTA."

Despite the alleged rape of a teen-age pupil in the school basement the week before, Mrs. Mason contended that John Marshall was a "good school." With a population 45% ..egro, 45% white and 10% Puerto Rican, it is one of the few really integrated schools in the Crown Heights area and Mrs. Mason deplored the "sensationalism and notoriety" with which the press reported the incident.



Pouzet in Paris Journal

"What genius put that goofnik-sized grapefruit into my orbit?"

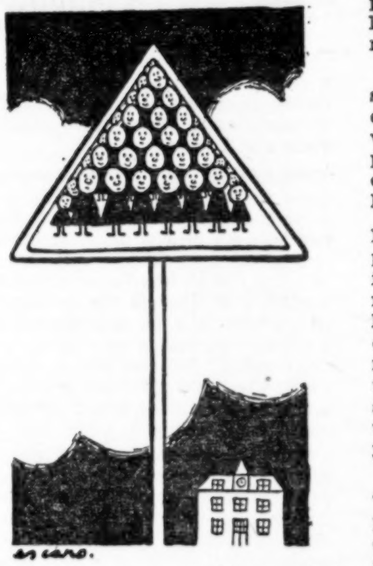
A few instances of juvenile misdeeds are being "blown up all out of proportion," she said. She implied that the pressure of unfavorable publicity had contributed to Dr. Goldfarb's suicide.

TERRORIZED: Another PTA leader in the area pointed out that the grand jury, "in its hunt for headlines, has terrorized and intimidated the professional staff of the Brooklyn schools for the past four months. They are now afraid of their own shadows and on the the defensive about incidents even when they occur outside of their responsibility."

Judge Samuel Liebowitz, who presides over the grand jury, was described by a PTA leader as "the villain of the whole piece." She felt the judge "hasn't the vaguest notion of how a school should be run or the slightest sympathy for the children."

Rev. Galamison, however, deplored the sensationalism but felt that "Judge Liebowitz is thoroughly justified in his attacks on Dr. Jansen and the Board of Education." He said: "The whole system needs a thorough overhauling. The Board needs to take more direct responsibility for the shortcomings in the schools."

COPS NO ANSWER: Some parents felt they had to accept police at some schools but none felt that nightsticks offered any real solution to the basic problems. Mrs. Mason thought it was "all right to station them outside until things quiet down," but asked "how can a child study when he sees a policeman walking around with a gun on his hip?"



Liberation, Paris

New sign for school crossings

Another parent contended: "Cops will unnerve children who go to school to learn, and they won't really stop the few who go to disrupt." Dr. Galamison regarded the cops-in-the-schools plan as a "temporary expedient" but not a fundamental approach to the problem.

And what do Brooklyn's parents and civic leaders consider to be the real problem? There seemed to be widespread agreement: it's a problem of a minority of disturbed children who need special care but are not getting it. There is no psychiatric and hardly any medical care provided in the schools. Classes are too large, especially in the Negro communities and mixed areas.

The city has failed to meet its responsibility for improving the schools instead of allowing them to deteriorate under the weight of a constantly growing school population. The action of the Mayor in cutting the school budget was termed harmful and "irresponsible."

NOT RACIAL: Rev. Galamison was emphatic in pointing out that the problem is not a racial problem, except as the newspapers attach racial implications to happenings which had no such significance when they occurred. "There is almost no evidence of racial friction in the schools except a few incidents in the area of one high school," he said. "And these incidents involved adults, not youth."

Another leader complained that the "mass hysteria" generated by the newspapers is "creating tension where none existed before." A parent at John Marshall insisted that "good relationships" exist among children of various backgrounds in the school, and pointed to the dances sponsored by the PTA every Friday evening in which Negro, white and Puerto Rican children have socialized for the past six months without incident and without police supervision.

Nevertheless, one evening newspaper quoted a neighborhood merchant as saying: "You don't want to hurt people's feelings . . . But, well, how do you say it; 'Oil and water don't mix.' " While others did not resort to such social chemistry it was apparent that New Yorkers with a racial bias could use the daily newspapers in efforts to prevent the integration of 132,000 Negro, 101,671 Puerto Rican and 725,235 white children in the N.Y. City schools.

Witch-hunters

(Continued from Page 1)

survive the public assaults upon it. It reported on Jan. 23 that "an informal poll of House liberals indicates the controversial Committee will get what it wants without great difficulty."

In the Watkins decision, the Supreme Court criticized the Committee for operating under a Congressional charter so broad with standards so vague that "it is impossible . . . to ascertain whether any legislative purpose justifies the disclosures sought."

But the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, in a 5-4 decision, gave the narrowest possible interpretation to the Watkins decision and reaffirmed a contempt conviction against teacher Lloyd Barenblatt, whose case had been sent back for review in the light of the Watkins ruling. Barenblatt's new appeal to the Supreme Court may provide the final word on the Committee's powers.

On Jan. 31 the appeals court upheld a contempt conviction of attorney Harry Sacher with the same 5-4 division.

The Washington **Post** commented on the appeals court ruling in the Barenblatt case: "Five of the nine members of the Court of Appeals here seem extremely slow to take a hint . . . The Court of Appeals majority appears to be taking the view that the observations of the Supreme Court in the Watkins case regarding First Amendment rights and the vagueness of the Committee's charter were mere dicta which subordinate courts may ignore. We hope that they are mistaken in this view and that the Supreme Court will make this altogether clear in a review of the Barenblatt decision."

ST. LOUIS CASE: The Justice Dept. itself seemed to take a broader view of the Watkins decision than did the Washington appeals court. On Jan. 22, six days after the Barenblatt ruling, an Asst. U.S. Atty. in St. Louis asked for and received the dismissal of an indictment for contempt of Congress against Mrs. Merle Kling. Mrs. Kling, wife of an associate professor of political science at Washington University, had refused before the Committee on Un-American Activities to name persons she had known as Communists during her own Party membership for three years up to 1947. She stood on the ground that "I am not a tattletale."

Asst. U.S. Atty. Forrest Becker said he asked for dismissal on orders from the Internal Security Div. of the Justice Dept. which, he said, was prompted by recent Supreme Court rulings. In granting the dismissal, Federal District Judge George H. Moore himself cited the Watkins ruling.

CASE OF THE EIGHT: Another test of the Committee's power to punish for contempt will come before the Washington Court of Appeals sometime in April in eight cases on appeal from a lower court. The eight are playwright Arthur Miller; newsmen Robert Shelton and William A. Price; trade unionist John T. Gojack; Norton Anthony Russell, an engineer of Yellow Springs, O.; Bernhard Deutch, former student at the University of Pennsylvania; Herman Liveright, former New Orleans TV director; and Goldie Watson, former school teacher in Philadelphia.

THE TRICK IS TO SOUND ANTI-YANKEE

Will a dictator get control in Guatemala?

VOICE FROM THE GALLERY IN GUATEMALAN CONGRESS
Politicos give their constituents a rough time—and vice versa

GUATEMALA LAST WEEK seemed about to slip into the hands of a man politically trained as an office holder in one of the most savage tyrannies Central America has ever known. The man expected to take office as President is Gen. Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes. The dictator who groomed him was Jorge Ubico, who cropped Indians' ears for being late in their taxes, had them shot for stealing 100 centavos, who for 13 years, up to the revolution of 1944, ran the country as its feudal master. Gen. Ydigoras was governor of two provinces under Ubico.

At 62, Ydigoras is still the military martinet and lordly grandee, but he has shrewdly gauged his people's anti-Yankee feeling. If he comes to power it will be on the shoulders of a desperate people ready to take anything that is not plainly labeled: "Made in U.S."

CHALLENGED ELECTION: After Ubico fell, Ydigoras went into "diplomatic exile" according to the Latin-American custom of sending political opponents into embassies abroad to keep them from stirring trouble. In 1950 he ran against Jacob Arbenz Guzman for the Presidency and lost.

Ydigoras conspired with Col. Carlos Castillo Armas to overthrow the Arbenz government, but soon broke with the Castillo politicians and bided his time. When Castillo was assassinated, Ydigoras was ready with a well-organized machine.

Last October he challenged the government's candidate and two lesser nominees in a Presidential election. When the government announced that its candidate had won, Ydigoras filled the plaza in front of the green-gold palace with his supporters. They included not only the old standbys of reaction, the market-women and other small shopkeepers; this time many of the workers and farmers seemed to be among the Ydigoras crowds who for four days stormed through the city denouncing the count as fraudulent.

The Army stepped in, annulled the results, set up a provisional regime and scheduled elections for Jan. 19. There were three main candidates: the government-supported Col. Cruz Salazar, Mario Mendez Montenegro of the Revolutionary Party and Ydigoras.

TWO FACES: Col. Cruz was clearly favored by the U.S. State Dept. and Ydigoras publicly so branded him. Mendez had been an official under the progressive government of Dr. Juan Jose Arevalo and had gathered strength from the workers and some of the farmers. The government had banned Mendez from the October election as "linked to the Communists." Ydigoras protested the ban which won him still more popular support and guaranteed him a divided opposition in January.

Up to election day Ydigoras campaigned on a platform of "Guatemala for the Guatemalans" though he made no specific promises to do anything about the plundering of the country by U.S. interests.

His chief journalistic spokesman, Clemente Marroquin Rojas, publisher of the daily **La Hora,** wrote sardonic editorials referring to the Latin-American Division of the State Dept. as "The Colonial Office." One editorial said: "Nothing has done us more harm than this money which with full hands North America has given us." Cruz was openly accused of campaigning with U.S. dollars.

But in a statement telephoned to the N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** Ydigoras reassured Washington by advocating "increased capitalism" and vowing to give small farmers land from Guatemala's own state farms, specifying "Not land owned by American companies."

ANTI-YANKEE: Paul P. Kennedy of the N.Y. **Times** wrote from Guatemala after the Jan. 19 vote: "The blunt fact is that Guatemala does not like U.S. policy. This attitude, according to competent observers, was reflected in Sunday's elections. There is a responsible body of thought which holds that if Cruz Salazar finally is beaten his defeat will be attributable in some part, if not in large part, to his being labeled, 'Washington's candidate'."

Cruz was blamed for the spectacle of Point Four officials driving elegant cars, taking over the capital's finest houses and seeking to reorganize the ancient Mayan civilization as if they were filling a vacuum.

Unofficial returns gave Ydigoras a plurality, estimated at 400,000, but not a majority. Guatemalan law provides that in the absence of a clear majority for any Presidential candidate, the Congress must choose between the two top candidates. Fifty-nine out of the 66 seats in Congress are filled by government-supporters who, it was expected, would certainly choose Cruz.

As Congress prepared to make the official tally, Ydigoras brought his crowds to the gallery. They shouted and stormed at the pro-Cruz legislators. Many in the gallery were anti-Yankee. More perhaps were outraged at the corruption which the government carried over from the Castillo regime.

THE DEAL: The state of the nation was desperate. Last fall a U.S. survey estimated that the average small farmer earned $40 a year. Although two-thirds of the population is involved in agriculture, the country is short of milk, eggs, wheat, rice, corn, meat. The government recently leased out great tracts of land to U.S. oil companies on terms that make middle-eastern oil agreements look eminently fair. The United Fruit Co. is riding almost as high as in the days of Ubico.

Guatemalans had voted for a change and now they were ready to demand it. A change to the left seemed impossible. Ydigoras loomed as the only alternative. As Congress began the count, tension rose. Reserves were called up. Civilians in the capital laid in supplies of food as if a state of siege were threatened.

On Jan. 29 Col. Cruz threw in the sponge, relinquishing all claims to the Presidency. He told the nation in a radio broadcast: "The Presidency is not so valuable as to have to pay for it with the lives of Guatemalans." Under terms of the deal, Ydigoras would form a "national anti-communist union administration," giving Cruz supporters three cabinet posts. Cruz himself would go into "diplomatic exile" in some remote embassy.

MURKY FUTURE: Some die-hard Cruz supporters, feeling betrayed by the deal and left to bear Ydigoras' reprisals, talked of a last-ditch fight and said that Col. Cruz had no right to commit their votes. Theirs appeared to be a lost cause.

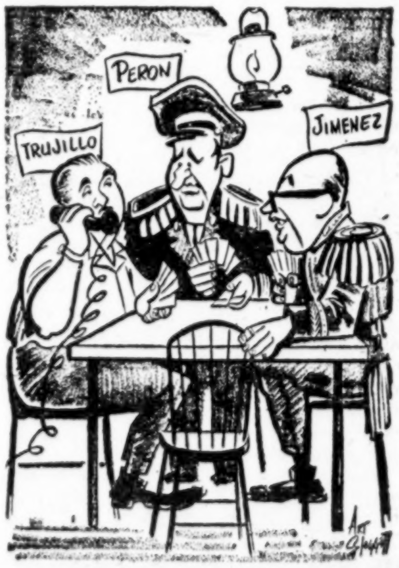
Guatemalans seemed to be opening a new chapter in a long agony. Unless Ydigoras has changed more than appears, he might replace the slovenly corruption of the Castillo and post-Castillo regimes with a very tidy but deadly revival of the Ubico days. To those who console themselves that at least Ydigoras is not a State Dept. invention, a paragraph in his official biography shatters the illusion. It tells how Ydigoras has "always admired that great nation, the United States, its democratic government and the struggle of Gen. Eisenhower in combatting communism all over the world."

. . . and his ears open

THREE AMERICAN newspapermen based in Europe were lunching yesterday with a French friend when the conversation touched on the stunt in which a television programme called "Truth or Consequence" sent an American on a tour of the world—blindfolded.

As all four bemoaned the impression this could create of American silliness, one of the journalists wondered out loud how far-fetched the next publicity gimmick could be. "Maybe," suggested the French friend impishly, "it will be sending an American around the world with his mouth shut."

—**Manchester Guardian, 1/9.**



New York Mirror
Hello, Batista—you like bridge?

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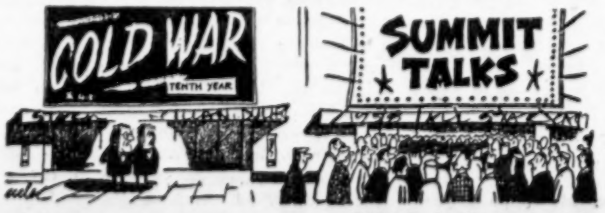
Editorial comment

(Continued from Page 1)

we were the only ones who could destroy the world—we were scarcely approachable. In the wondrous dialectic—if one may use the expression—our behavior made the Russian H-Bomb and the sputniks inevitable. In the same way the Russian sputniks hastened our little Explorer. The list of credits, as on a TV script, is almost endless.

NOW THAT WE KNOW—and the Russians know—that no nation can hold the lead for long, that science is the property of all and ultimate wisdom as yet the property of none, perhaps we can talk to each other as equals.



Eccles in London Daily Worker

It is true that some Americans still see the cosmos in cold war terms. The Army is reported planning a 500-lb. moon to serve as a gigantic military reconnaissance device for super-spying. But in time it may be impressed—even on the military mind—that heaven is for peace and war is hell.

Even Vice President Nixon, who not long ago was a scrappy boy running with a very tough gang, hints that he may have taken the rocks out of his pocket. As the Explorer began orbiting Nixon said: "Working together for peace the Russian and American people will accomplish far more for themselves and the world than they would in a race for military supremacy in outer space."

No doubt the Vice President retains some odd notions as to how to work for peace, but such statements must be welcomed. And if there is still the chance that a Richard Nixon can mature, there is hope in the world. It may be that the flight of the Explorer, indicates not that we are weaker or stronger, but that mankind is reaching the stage where it can afford the adult emotion of brotherhood—and nothing else.

The grave's a cool and quiet place,
But none, I think, do there embrace.

HOW THE ASIANS AND AFRICANS FEEL

Cairo conference highlighted Arab-Israeli relations

By Cedric Belfrage

THE PEOPLE PAY FOR THE MIDDLE EAST MUDDLE
Arab refugees in Al Faluja wait for transportation to Gaza

LONDON

MORE WAS HEARD about the Arab-Israeli question than about any other at the recent Afro-Asian Cairo Conference, both in meetings and in informal conversations. Most Arabs (whether Egyptians, Lebanese, Syrians, Palestinians, Jordanians, Iraqis) are—like most Jews—very subjective in stating their case and passionately convinced that right is on their side. After listening to them for a week you feel that the situation is as dangerously explosive as ever.

So far as I know, not one note of sympathy for Israel was expressed throughout the Conference. Since nearly all African and Asian countries and many political shadings were represented, it would be foolish to brush this off under the heading of "domination" by Arab states, by Moscow or by anyone else.

Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru, one of the chief sponsors and India's delegation leader, led off on the first morning by referring to "the recent aggressive attack made on your [Egypt's] independence by three Western imperialist powers." This is the general Afro-Asian attitude toward Israel since the Suez affair.

For Asians and Africans, Israel placed itself firmly in the hated imperialist camp by attacking a neighbor in concert with France and Britain. It continues in close military alliance with France, which is slaughtering the Arabs' brothers in Algeria.

THE WEDGES: During the Conference, Ben Gurion's bid for military aid from W. Germany seemed to make the point even clearer. A Syrian delegate put it thus: "Imperialism has created certain supports such as Israel in the heart of the Arab world, and the government of Taiwan, and driven them as wedges into our homelands to stop our progressive liberation and economic development and striving for solidarity."

This generally hostile attitude does not mean that leaders of the Afro-Asian liberation movements have forgotten the horrors from which thousands of Jews fled to Israel. But in a memorandum on the new refugees caused by "international imperialism and Zionism," the Palestine delegation pointed out that "the only crime" of the Arab nation was to be living on the spot chosen for a Jewish haven.

The Palestine delegation consisted of leading Arabs from Gaza, where some 230,000 of the 1,100,000 Arab refugees have been living for nearly ten years. Half-naked and riddled with disease, they are jammed into tents and mud-houses with an allowance of 1,400-1,500 calories a day (nothing for some 125,000 children born since 1951) and with minimal school facilities for less than half of the children. The UN relief agency strives heroically to house and feed them on $2 a month per head.

THE DIFFERENCE: This is obvious material for "anti-imperialist and -Zionist" pamphleteering, and thousands of such pamphlets—some factual and effective, some merely wild and inflammatory—were distributed at the Conference by Palestine and other Arab delegations. After the Conference, 35 delegates were flown to Gaza to see for themselves.

Here one sees a principal reason why the West can get nowhere in its efforts to stir up Afro-Asians against "Soviet imperialism," customarily symbolized by Hungary. The Afro-Asians are well aware that thousands of Hungarian refugees have been flown out for settlement in West Europe and America, and huge sums have been collected for them in every "free world" country.

There is nothing at all for the Arab refugees unless they will accept re-settlement in places where they don't want to go (they merely want to go home). For Afro-Asians, this is further proof that all Western "generosity" is as politically inspired as are the outpourings of dollars to Israel in their eyes. Also, to inspire it, one had better be white.

Some of the demands of the Arab Higher Committee for Palestine (such as "abrogation" of the Jewish state and repatriation whence they came of all recent Jewish immigrants) are totally unrealistic. But the demand for cessation of immigration into the present Israeli state are regarded by many as reasonable.

THE DISTINCTION: Many thoughtful Arabs see their ultimate liberation in a big country "from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf," possibly in some kind of loose federation. This, they say, could include the Jewish people "provided they are willing to live like citizens, not like Zionists."

They claim that this appeals to large numbers of Israelis, who are irked by the confined boundaries within which they can move, and who want to live in an atmosphere of peace rather than on a perpetual "brink." Meanwhile these Arabs want the original Palestine to be restored as a country in which all would have equal rights.

I met many such Arabs who showed no trace of "racism" but were careful to distinguish between Zionists and Jews in general.

THE DANGERS: There were, however, enough elements in and around the Conference to indicate the danger that moves toward conciliation might be drowned beneath racist intolerance on both sides, if the West continues on its present course. One figure haunting the Conference lobbies was a "journalist" from the Istanbul Islamic United Nations, which lauds Gerald L. K. Smith and Hitler in its crudely venomous anti-Semitism. Nobody knows who finances its weekly English-language edition circulated, as the man told me, "widely in your Southern states."

In a corner of the long, pillared room where white-gowned and turbaned men served lemonade in Conference intermissions, Mrs. Nehru had this to say:

"Yes, I am worried about the possible growth of racial intolerance in this part of the world, although the people are not racist-minded if left alone. Some of the Arabs are too rigid, even if most of the right is on their side.

"When they say they want all to share Palestine and live equally in peace, without any more immigration, that is good. But I don't like their insistence that they must get back all the land that was taken from them and that those who have it must leave."

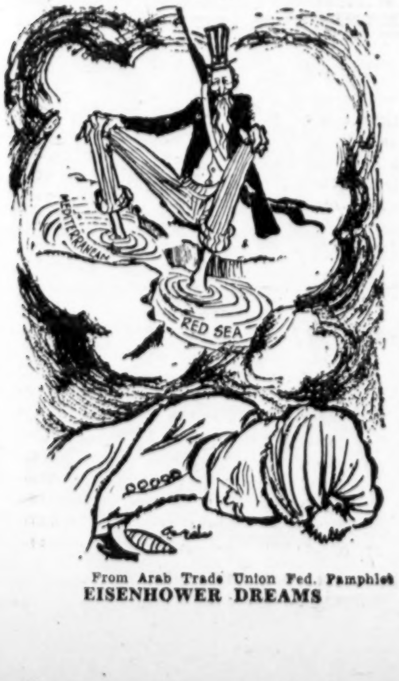
"I am a refugee myself—my family, once the wealthiest in Pakistan, were turned out with nothing. But we have decided to stop protesting about it because we know it can't be changed peacefully; others have the land and are now equally convinced they have a right to it. It is useless vindictiveness to continue the process of causing suffering to right past wrongs. We must all begin to understand that and seek for compromise, no matter how greatly we were wronged."

THE SPOTLIGHT: The comparative moderateness of the resolution on Palestine testified to the joint wisdom of the Conference. It "adopted" the Palestine delegation's report on the refugee situation and oppression of Arabs in Israel; declared Israel a "base of imperialism" threatening security in the region; and sympathetically endorsed the Arabs' general "rights in Palestine" and to return there.

Taken in connection with other resolutions, the implication was that if imperialists would stop fishing for advantage in the Middle East, and the emphasis were transferred to general economic revival, a peaceful solution could be found. The spotlight of guilt must be held firmly upon imperialism.

Some at the Conference were cheered by a newspaper report of proposals made by the new "Third Force" movement in Israel. This self-critical movement has condemned Israeli propaganda implying that only a violent solution is possible, and proposed as a basis for discussion Arab recognition of present Israeli boundaries, repatriation and compensation of Arab refugees, abolition of discrimination against Arabs in Israel, return of Arab property and partial federation of the Middle East.

In any case there is no doubt that, to make a settlement possible, U.S. public opinion must become far better informed than now as to the facts of the case. It must be made known that the Arabs have a strong case in simple justice, and borne in mind that the Jews' sufferings have been caused not by Arabs but by "free world" members.



From Arab Trade Union Fed. Pamphlet
EISENHOWER DREAMS

Another view of the Cairo parley

The following editorial appeared in the latest issue of Israel Horizons, *an English language monthly magazine (112 Fourth Av., New York 3, N.Y. $3 a year) devoted "to the advancement of the kibbutz movement and the State of Israel." It generally reflects the Israeli progressive point of view.*

ONE SHOULD NOT DISMISS lightly or ridicule, as the American press has been doing, the Cairo conference of Asian and African peoples on a non-governmental level, with "observers" from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

It is true, of course, that every base connotation of narrow nationalism was played upon at the parley, and that there was an orgy of blind hate.

But these were only surface manifestations. What still stands out is the naked hunger of the peoples from colonies and newly-liberated states for the means to pull themselves out of their economic backwardness.

That they equate their present and former servitude with the West is all too easy to understand. But the fact that they accept the Soviet Union as an equal or even Big Brother to whom to turn for help is a political fact of such tremendous implications that it must set the Western capitals back on their heels.

SENDING THEIR TOP MAN from the Asian Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan to the conference was a shrewd enough political move on the part of Moscow. But playing the economic rather than the military theme was even smarter, especially on the heels of the NATO conference and its preoccupation with intercontinental ballistic missiles.

Having lost, at least temporarily, the missile and rocket race to the Russians, Washington seems determined to do everything to throw the political and economic contest after it.

To close its eyes to the Soviet Union's presence in the Middle East or to still believe that it can be eliminated is Western folly mounting to grand proportions.

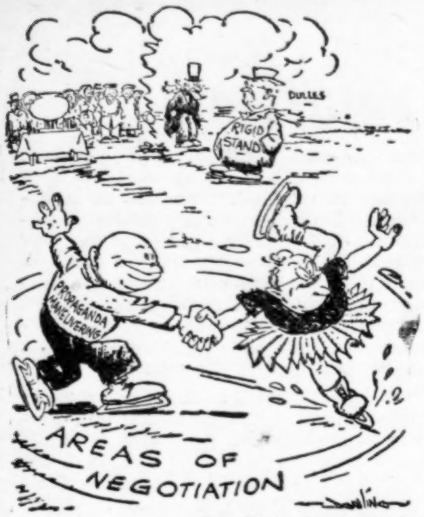
One can shout as loudly as he wishes that the Cairo conference was "Red-dominated." The conferees were not color blind.

THIS WAS NO BANDUNG, of course. None of the responsible leaders of the Asian and African countries could identify themselves with the many irresponsible statements at Cairo.

It offered nothing so far as peace in the Middle East was concerned, or even a real neutralist position (despite all the claims of "positive neutralism") in the Cold War.

Nor as an Asian-African "Peoples' Conference" did it recognize the fact that the Jewish people has returned to Asia to stay. To the contrary. The conference condemned Israel outright. On this issue the conferees were so blind they failed to see that Israel could be of tremendous help in reaching the goals they so ardently espoused. They seemed actually afraid to think of the positive aspects of what has been done in Israel as an example for the revival of their own peoples.

Without these considerations there can be no full and true expression of the aspirations of all the Asian and African peoples.



New York Herald Tribune
"Maybe if you could be a little more flexible."

Summit talks

(Continued from Page 1)

. . . the West would not insist on 'too many preconditions' for a meeting, to avert the charge that it is anxious to avoid East-West talks.

American correspondents and diplomats abroad reflected the powerful sentiment they found, and influential voices at home took up the cry.

William E. Jorden reported from Moscow (**N.Y. Times,** 2/2) that the majority of foreign diplomats "have reported to their governments that the Soviet leaders seem anxious not only to talk but to reach some kind of understanding." These diplomats "are concerned not with maximal demands but minimal demands." They believe that the new U.S.-Soviet agreement for increased travel and mutual visits by technical delegations, teachers, students and other cultural groups points the way to an East-West understanding.

FOR A SMALL START: These diplomats, Jorden said, ask: "What objection can there be . . . to the Communist bloc and the non-Communist nations working out an agreement not to attack each other? And a pledge not to use force in settling disputes in the Middle East and elsewhere conforms to the stated policy of all major nations." U.S. Ambassador Llewellyn Thompson was among the diplomats who believed that Moscow sought limited agreements.

Washington scoffed, but columnist Walter Lippmann considered "interesting" and "significant" Soviet CP First Secy. Khrushchev's statement that big power meetings should start with simple things. Lippmann found it refreshingly different "from the [U.S.] idea of a grand meeting at the summit for the pretended purpose of dealing with all the great issues in one over-all package settlement."

Walter Millis, military analyst and author of **Arms and Men,** in the **N.Y. Times Magazine** (2/2), denied the validity of "absolute" weapons and the theory of "limited war;" asserted that "the establishment of Communist regimes" in Southeast Asia and Central Europe "is the result of historic processes which, whether good or ill, cannot be undone by any form of power available to the West;" urged the U.S. to "accept the situation and learn to live with and deal with it rather than indulge in counter-revolutionary hopes and propaganda which are futile . . ."

RIGID DULLES: Millis urged Washington to "lay our nuclear cards upon the table" and thus pressuring "the Russians to do the same." Then, "specific issues like those of Germany or the Middle East . . . will become susceptible to negotiation. We can and should negotiate with the Russians, but it must . . . be a genuine negotiation in which we are no longer looking for the destruction of an enemy but for accommodation with a rival . . ."

In the face of these comments, Dulles continued to anticipate Soviet collapse under globe-girdling U.S. military pressure. Returning from the Baghdad Pact conference, he reported success while all evidence pointed to the contrary.

Dulles had gone to Ankara to hold together the pact's Mideast members and to convince them that Moscow was their only enemy. But Iraq insisted that Israel was the main enemy; Pakistan, negotiating with the Soviet Union for food and farm equipment and a steel plant, demanded military aid aganst India; and Turkey kept British Foreign Secy. Selwyn Lloyd jittery with Cyprus. **Newsweek** reported (2/3):

"Middle East members of the pact believe Russia's chief threat is economic rather than military. [This can be counteracted] only if the U.S. launches a bigger and better campaign of aid, featuring loans 'without strings' and a vast series of technical development programs."

HOLY CRUSADE: But while all the Moslem states clamored for non-military economic aid and watched Moscow sign a 12-year agreement with Cairo providing low interest economic aid to Egypt for varied industrial and geological development, Dulles urged them to cooperate in a multi-billion dollar military project and, in the name of God, fight "atheistic Russia" and "international communism."

Although Pakistani Premier Firoz Khan Noon pointed out that "by launching its program of economic aid for underdeveloped countries the Communist world has thrown a new challenge to the democracies," all Dulles could offer were vague promises of economic aid and a $10,000,000 contribution to the military project, subject to approval of Congress.

The disappointed pact members faced internal problems posed by the announcement in Cairo last week of the merger of Egypt and Syria into the United Arab Republic. The Republic, which will hold a plebiscite by Feb. 20 to elect a President and ratify a temporary constitution, was declared open to all Arab states to join.

ARAB DREAM: It was a foregone conclusion that all Arab states would feel strongly drawn to this beginning of the fulfillment of the dream of an Arab federation. Yemen's ruler was reported already on his way to Cairo to discuss terms for joining the Republic. In Iraq—the only Arab state in the pact, whose capital is the pact's headquarters—the pull would be most strongly felt because of the extreme unpopularity of the government's pro-Western attitude.

In fact, the frightened rulers of Iraq, Jordan and Saudi Arabia were reported hurrying to confer on how to deal with the anticipated popular demand for merger with the new republic.

The obvious new set-back to the U.S. in the Middle East may cause Dulles and the oil interests to oppose strenuously a summit meeting and to plug more intensely for "limited war" which, the Gaither report said, may have to be fought in the Middle East. Dulles' influence was apparent in the report that President Eisenhower had decided to dump his disarmament adviser Harold Stassen, the only administration member who publicly expressed hope in the possibility of successful East-West negotiations.

OLETA YATES GETS A YEAR IN JAIL

Judge defies Supreme Court in Smith Act sentence

Oleta O'Connor Yates, a California Communist Party leader, was sentenced on Jan. 28 for the second time to a year in jail on a contempt charge by Federal Judge William C. Mathes in Los Angeles. She was originally cited and given the same sentence in 1952, as a result of her testimony during the Los Angeles Smith Act trial of 14 CP leaders. She had refused to name other Communists. The U.S. Supreme Court last June reduced the 11 citations to one and sent the case back to Judge Mathes for resentencing. The Court also dismissed charges against five of the 14 defendants; the government dropped the charges against the other nine.

By Anna Louise Strong
Special to the Guardian

LOS ANGELES

FEDERAL JUDGE William C. Mathes on Jan. 28 turned down a face-saving offer by the Supreme Court and chose to fight a rearguard action. This stubbornness recalls the judge's earlier dramatic clash with the physically frail but spiritually unbreakable Oleta Yates who commuted between jail and the court-room, piling up "contempt" citations with each refusal to "name names" and maddening the Judge with her cool courtesy.

The Supreme Court's decision — that this case should be sent back to the trial judge to reconsider "in the cool reflection of subsequent events," seems to have maddened Judge Mathes even more. He let the attorneys for the defense pile up arguments and then handed them his already typed decision. Mrs. Yates went from the court in handcuffs. This of course is not the end of the story; such stories do not end.

HER CREED: Oleta Yates was chosen by the 14 California Smith Act defendants in 1952 to present the Communist case. We recall the courtroom hush as she brushed aside the "force and violence" myth with her calm demeanour and gave her creed: "The world belongs always to the living, not to the dead, and each generation has the same right to make its own forms of government that the original makers of constitutions had." We recall her defense of "the rights of speech, press, assembly . . . which enable men to achieve through reason and consent that which in the past they tried to achieve by violence."

I don't know anyone who ever put it better. She impressed hard-boiled reporters. She made the jury argue five days. Later she seems to have impressed the Supreme Court. But she maddened Judge Mathes.

Years passed. Finally the Supreme Court spoke. Justice Clark listed several "mitigating circumstances," including Oleta's own courtesy in her court answers.

On Jan. 28 Judge Mathes again gave his decision. . . . He sentenced Oleta Yates to a year in jail. He disregarded the plea of her attorneys that most contempt cases carry only 30 days and Mrs. Yates had already served 70; that she has a rare disease which requires specialists' care which cannot be had in jail.

The 13-page decision by Judge Mathes is an incredible document. The Supreme Court, says Judge Mathes, really knows little about the case, for the written words of the trial cannot convey what the Judge saw: Oleta Yates' "impeccable manners, her attitude of condescending superiority." Nor can they convey how she affected the courtroom, "the all-but-audible cheering and booing. . . ." There was no audible cheering, but Judge Mathes felt that the audience wanted to cheer Oleta. In this he was right.

Mrs. Yates' testimony, he says, was "a cleverly devised stratagem . . . enabling her to argue the defendants' case while purporting to give evidence." To the Supreme Court's "understanding" of Mrs. Yates' "reluctance to be an informer," Judge Mathes retorts: "If the trial courts of our land did not have and exercise the power to compel witnesses to become informers, our system of justice would in time collapse."

AFTER TWO AND A HALF YEARS, AGREEMENT
State Dept.'s William Lacy (l.) shakes hands with Soviet Ambassador Zaroubin after signing pact for a wide exchange of people and ideas for closer cultural and social relations between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

Song of Strijdom

SOUTH AFRICA'S RACIST government has brought out a new version of the Bible in which the Song of Solomon has been rewritten to suit the country's stringent segregation laws. The regular version of Verse 5, Chapter 1 of the Song of Solomon describing the "Rose of Sharon—lily of the valley" reads: "I am black but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem . . ." The revised version in Afrikaans gives Solomon's desired one a healthy tan. It reads: "I am comely, and burnt brown by the sun . . ."

North American Newspaper Alliance, 1/22.

No title to freedom this way

ANY SOCIETY which pins its hope of survival upon its technical ability to massacre scores of millions of the enemy's innocent noncombatants, which is at the same time reckless of its responsibility for poisoning, in the name of self-defense, the atmosphere and food-bearing soil of the whole earth, has accepted a moral degradation which denies it any title to freedom within itself. It has accepted a brutalization of its foreign policy which must inevitably brutalize and poison its internal life as well. It has taken a position which necessarily undermines all its highest protestations on the world-stage, and at the same time undermines—as did the slaughters at Hiroshima and Nagasaki—all its most deeply held beliefs.

—Walter Millis, in the N. Y. Times Magazine, 2/2.

British end U.S. secrecy on fusion progress

By Robert Joyce

THE WORLD WAS TOLD on Jan. 24 by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission and the United Kingdom's Atomic Energy Authority most of what their scientists have achieved in working toward CTR (controlled thermonuclear reaction—or tamed H-bomb power.)

This source of fabulous power, relatively free of explosion hazards and radioactivity, requires temperatures upward of 100,000,000 degrees centigrade which must be sustained for several seconds at a time. U.S. scientists have now created temperatures of 6,000,000 degrees, but only for less than a millionth of a second. British scientists have recently held temperatures of 2,000,000 to 5,000,000 degrees for five-thousandths of a second—that is, more than a thousand times longer.

The jointly issued reports made it clear that while the scientists believe they have brought about momentary thermonuclear reactions in their apparatus, they cannot be positive of this without further experiments; therefore they are simply making a progress report rather than an announcement of a major breakthrough.

NO SECRET: Before the officially whooped-up fanfare of revelations, wide sections of the British press had been charging that U.S. pressure held the lid down on news of British advances. Admiral Strauss, U.S. high priest of the atom, indignantly denied this and what amounts to the de-classification of widely known data followed.

The discovery of the fusion reaction was made—and publicly discussed—years before that of uranium fission. While the scientists' reports are models of lucid explanation with interpretations and descriptions of the experiments carried out here and in England, yet almost all of it has been published before and has been available to anyone who reads the science news. See the GUARDIAN, (11/25/57) and, for a detailed and semi-technical description of the process, see the article "Fusion Power" by U. of California physicist Richard F. Post in the December, 1957, **Scientific American.**

Whatever the merits of the British complaints may be, the absurdity of pretending that fundamental science can be kept secret was made plainer than ever.

UNLIMITED FOREVER: In spite of politicians and secrecy, the working scientists remain conservatively confident. Those of England's Harwell research center see "no fundamental reason why these longer times, together with much higher temperatures (required for CTR) cannot be achieved" within about 20 years. U.S. specialists assert that the latest results "can be and will be exceeded." They ask that the work "be judged in view of the promise it holds out, and not on the basis of the results reported."

In the **Scientific American** article cited above, physicist Post says that the hoped-for results "may solve forever both the fuel supply problem and the problems of radioactive wastes." Physicist Arthur Edward Ruark, head of the U.S. fusion research program, Project Sherwood, reduces the potential fuel supply from forever to ten billion years.

In the meantime, with the Soviet Union (which started as early or earlier than the U.S. and Britain on this quest) and with France, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden declaring themselves into the race, the eternity of unlimited power for humanity may be opened up in less than 20 years.

BOOKS

Imperialism still rules

HERE IS A MIGHTY midget of a book.* Only 168 pages long, it nevertheless carries a powerful punch. Calmly but without equivocating, the internationally known Swedish economist and social scientist Gunnar Myrdal has shown that the rich capitalist countries of the world still maintain a colonial economic relationship with underdeveloped lands.

Of course the capitalist countries pledge economic aid; it is seldom fulfilled. They urge the poorer countries to sign trade treaties; but, as Myrdal shows, underdeveloped lands can trade only in primary products, which suffer from fluctuations in price and demand in the export market. Yet, when they press hard, "the advice—and assistance—which the poorer countries receive from the richer is . . . often directed toward increasing their production of primary goods for export."

THE RICH LANDS profess willingness to invest capital in the poor lands—but under proper safeguards. They insist such investments would increase the wealth of the recipient country and promote development. When made, these investments still turn out to involve cheaply produced natural resources; safeguards are obtained by bribing feudal governments, which helps maintain "order and social stability" but retards progress; and those in the poor lands who benefit from such investments spend it on imported luxury goods or send it abroad for investment.

Drawing from his wealth of experience as Executive Secy. of the UN Economic Commission for Europe—a post he recently relinquished—Myrdal says: "There is actually a steady capital flight going on from underdeveloped countries which in a realistic analysis, should be counted against what there is of capital inflow to them."

THE MATERIAL in Myrdal's **Rich Lands and Poor** is based on lectures given in Cairo in 1955. His Egyptian audience could undoubtedly supply many examples to buttress his contentions. The American reader might note such examples as the waste of Philippine capital on U. S.-produced luxury goods; the plight of Southeast Asia rubber producers and Nigerian cocoa growers depending on price fluctuations in the world market controlled by the West; and the flight of the huge profits of Greek shipowners and of the puppet ruler of oil-rich Kuwait to London and New York.

Myrdal has focused his attention on "one particular aspect of the international situation, namely, the very large and steadily increasing economic inequalities between developed and underdeveloped countries." His book presents an incisive inquiry into "why and how these inequalities came to exist, why they persist, and why they tend to increase." And in discussing "how could these trends be reversed?" he has stated his conclusions lucidly and with candor.

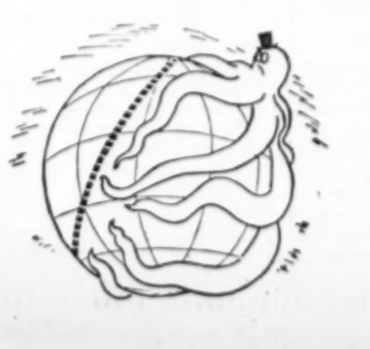
NOTING THE RICH nations' bitter opposition to such proposed international aid agencies as the Special UN Fund for Economic Development, Myrdal concludes that "the underdeveloped countries are mainly thrown back on their own resources."

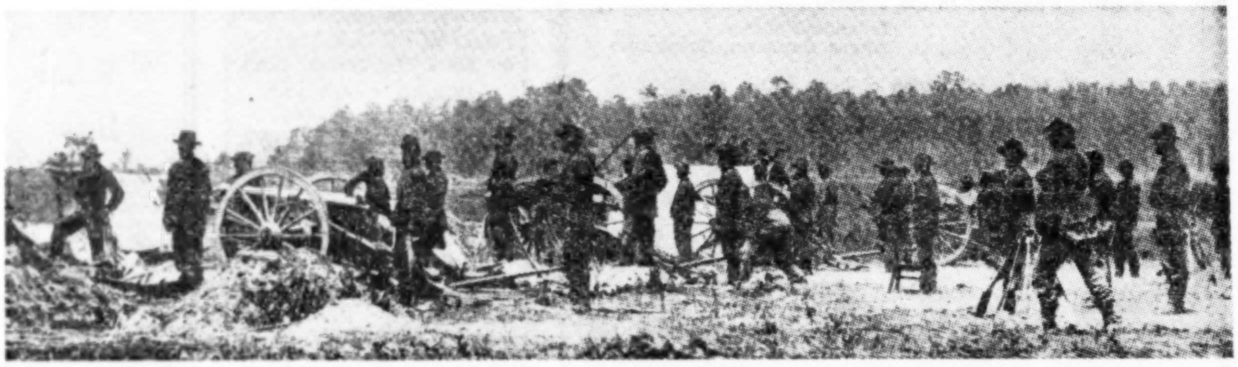
While his book is explicitly devoted to the non-socialist world, Myrdal notes with approval that the underdeveloped lands have generally accepted the principle of planned economic growth, tried to increase their strength by organizing into such groups as the Bandung nations, begun nationalizing foreign-owned enterprises, and shown their willingness to accept aid from all sources irrespective of political ideologies. His analysis of the basic requirements of planning and the present relationship of rich and poor lands is especially illuminating.

Coming at a time when the socialist world has challenged the capitalist countries to compete in trade and aid, this book by the author of **American Dilemma** (which dealt with the status of the Negro people) should prove highly stimulating.

—**Kumar Goshal**

**RICH LANDS AND POOR, by Gunnar Myrdal. Harper & Brothers, 49 E. 33rd St., New York 16, N. Y. 168 pp. $3.*





MATHEW BRADY (ONE OF THE CENTER FIGURES) UNDER FIRE AT PETERSBURG, 1864

MATHEW BRADY AND HIS PICTURES

Historian with a camera

A HUNDRED YEARS AGO there were quite a few Americans of talent who devoted themselves to the new art of photography. There were some who aimed to make portraits of all their illustrious or interesting contemporaries for posterity. And there were also a few who risked their lives to record the Civil War with their cameras.

But the prime example of these artistic, journalistic and pioneering traits was Mathew Brady. His story and 500 pictures, some by his assistants or rivals but most his own work, are offered in a reasonably priced book, **Mathew Brady, Historian with a Camera***. The span of Brady's life and work runs from the aging early Presidents John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, Tyler and Polk through the war to an aging Mark Twain and a young Edison.

THE PICTURES HE TOOK wear well technically in spite of the fact that some were daguerreotypes and the rest were made by the difficult and cumbersome wet-plate process. The plates were often sensitized and developed in a light-tight delivery wagon drawn up beside the guns at a battle front, as at Bull Run, Antietam, Fredericksburg and Gettysburg.

This first half-century of photography was the age of the time exposure and this fact imposed itself on the character of the art. All the pictures have a special air of suspended animation, of the quiet just before or after intense action that adds fascination to the historical actuality of the scenes and persons. We learn that exposures at noon in the open air were as much as five to 20 minutes in 1840 but we are not told how much this was reduced 20-odd years later when Brady and others were taking their pictures under fire. Author James D. Horan's excellent biographical and historical account might well have included some notes on this.

WE SOMETIMES mistakenly suppose that rapid social changes due to technical advances are peculiar to the 20th century. However slow their films and lenses may have been, pioneering Americans did a fast job of capitalizing on photography. Daguerre's process was revealed in August, 1839. Samuel F. B. Morse brought a camera back from Paris and took his first picture in New York in September of the same year. He taught the art to Brady and several others, including a John Plumbe who, by 1845, was advertising his chain of 14 "Daugerreotype Parlors." The census of 1850 counted 938 photographers; the count in 1860 was 3.154.

Where portraits had once been only for the wealthy and noble, now every one could have his likeness preserved. Even in the new republic leaders had been remote—and therefore somewhat mysterious—figures. They were now made familiar by the camera. Lincoln said that his Cooper Institute speech and Brady's portrait photographs of him had made him President.

This generously illustrated book is a worthy memorial to a good artist.

—**Robert Joyce**

**MATHEW BRADY, HISTORIAN WITH A CAMERA, by James D. Horan; Crown Publishers, 419 4th Av., N.Y. 244 pp. $7.50.*

IN FEBRUARY ISSUE

Frankfurter profile in 'Jewish Currents'

A PROFILE OF SUPREME Court Justice Felix Frankfurter by attorney Victor Rabinowitz, discussing his early career and recent decisions is a featured article in the February issue of **Jewish Currents.** The magazine is the successor to **Jewish Life.**

Other articles include: "How Polish Jews Fight Anti-Semitism;" "Ten Best Books on the American Negro;" "Writing a Novel on Sholem Aleichem," and several poems, a news roundup and a report on Israel. The subscription price is $3.50 a year; Rm. 601, 22 E. 17th St., New York 3, N.Y. Single issues, 35c.

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on

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Berk. Soc. Forum, I.O.O.F. Hall

LOS ANGELES: Fri., Feb. 21
Independent Forum
ILWU Hall, 5625 S. Figueroa

ANTIOCH COLLEGE:
Mon., Feb. 24

CHICAGO: Thurs., Feb. 27
E. V. Debs Forum

U. OF WISCONSIN:
Mon., March 3

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PUBLICATIONS

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The Eyes have it

FILLMORE, UTAH

I saw a Sputnik in the sky
And heard John Foster Dulles cry,
"On co-existence we can't rely
Or capitalism is doomed to die;
So more aggression let's apply."
A desperate last chance, I prophesy.

A. C. Gregersen

CALENDAR

Boston, Mass.

HELEN SOBELL speaks on
"MY APPEAL FOR JUSTICE"
Wed., Feb. 19 7:30 p.m. at
Community Church Forum, 565 Boylston.

Chicago

LEONID KOGAN, GREAT SOVIET VIOLINIST, Orchestra Hall, Fri. eve., Feb. 14. Seats from Chi. Coun. of Amer-Sov. Friendship, Suite 403, 189 W. Madison, ANdover 3-1877. $5, $4.40, 3.30, 2.50, 1.75.

CORLISS LAMONT, "Travel, Peace and American-Soviet Understanding." Sun., March 2, 7 p.m. Crystal Room (3d floor), Palmer House, State & Monroe. Ausp: Mandel Terman. Adm. 90c.

ERNIE MAZEY
Prominent Detroit Unionist on
"LABOR MOVEMENT IN CRISIS"
Report on U.A.W. Convention
Sat., Feb. 15 8:30 p.m.
1160 E. 54 St. Don. 50c.
Social following
Ausp: Amer. Socialist Club.

Hear **JOSEPH STAROBIN**
on
"A Radical View of America's Crisis in The Age of Sputnik"
Thurs. Feb 27 8 p.m.
Adm. 90c — Students 60c.
Music Room, 410 S. Michigan
Auspices: E. V. Debs Forum.

Militant Labor Forum
Fri., Feb. 14 8:15 p.m.
"PROSPECTS FOR AMERICAN LABOR IN 1958"

Detroit

See the great American film
"SALT OF THE EARTH"
Fri., Feb. 14 8 p.m.
at 3737 Woodward Don. 50c.
Ausp: Friday Night Socialist Forum.

A. J. MUSTE
of the American Forum for Socialist Education will speak on
SPUTNIKS, MISSILES & PEACE
Thurs., Feb. 20 8 p.m.
Central Methodist Church, 4th fl
23 E. Adams at Woodward. Free.

Los Angeles

"FREEDOM DAY"
A musical dramatization from
John O. Killen's "Youngblood"
Repeat performance for Brotherhood Month
Fri., Feb. 28, 8 p.m. $1.
First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8 St.

Negro History Week Celebration **"Songs of Free Men"** and playlet **"An Incident in Life of Harriet Tubman"** by professional Touring Actors Group; Eleanor Letha Cary, militant trade unionist and socialist speaks on "Eisenhower's Emergency Educational Aid Program & Desegregation in Schools." Chairman: Milton Alvin, prominent lecturer. Fri., Feb. 14, Forum Hall, 8:15 p.m. 1702 E. 4 St. Sponsor: International Socialist Review Donation $1.

Berkeley, Calif.

Celebrate Washington's Birthday and help free **Morton Sobell.** PARTY, Feb. 22, 8:30 p.m., 2724 Alcatraz, Berkeley (above college). New Sobell film, entertainment, refreshments. Don. $1. Sponsor: East Bay Sobell Committee.

HOW WE CAN COMPETE WITH RUSSIA—A SOCIALIST VIEW.
Speaker: **JOSEPH STAROBIN**
Sun., Feb. 16, 8 p.m., Oddfellows Hall, Bancroft & Oxford. — Don. 75c.
Sponsor: Berkeley Socialist Forum.

CLINTON JENCKS
will speak on: "The Jencks Case and Civil Liberties." Auspices: Jack London Club. Fri., Feb. 14, 8 p.m.
YWCA Building, 2134 Allston Way.

Newark, N. J.

Attention — New Jersey Youth: **Tim Wohlforth,** editor "Young Socialist," will speak on "Towards a United Socialist Youth Movement," Sat., Feb. 8—8 p.m. Masonic Auditorium, 188 Belmont Av. Questions and disc. period. Adm. free.

New York

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A SOCIALIST LOOKS AT THE AMERICAN ECONOMY
Dr. Otto Nathan
8 Tues. (beg. Feb. 11) 8:30-10 p.m.
CHINA & INDIA **Kumar Goshal**
6 Wed. (beg. Feb. 12) 6:45-8:15 p.m.
SCIENCE & MODERN LIFE
Irving Adler, Dr. Chandler Davis, Dr. Vernon King
6 Wed. (beg. Feb. 12) 8:30-10 p.m.
THE CONTEMPORARY NOVEL—English & American
Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein
Thurs., (beg. Feb. 13) 6:45-8:15 p.m.
STATE & SOCIETY **Dr. Stanley Moore**
6 Thurs. (beg. Feb. 13) 8:30-10 p.m.
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FEES: 6-lecture course, $7.50. 8-lecture course, $10. Single lecture, $1.50. 20% reduction for couples or for registrant in 2 courses. Special rates for students. Advance registration may be made by check or money order to: Socialist Unity Forum at above address. For further information: telephone GRamercy 3-6264.

Metropolitan Fraternal Club
Meeting Fri. Feb. 7 8:30 p.m.
Negro History Speaker—Dramatic Reading. Adm. Free. Adelphi Hall, 74 5th Av.

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- What does the Future Hold?

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Sun., Feb. 16 — 8:15 p.m.
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WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
- The Negro Leaps Forward
- New Friends for Civil Rights

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DR. HERBERT APTHEKER
"The Crisis in Education in U.S.A."
Sun. Feb. 9 8:30 p.m.
Brighton Community Center
3200 Coney Island Av., Brooklyn

REVIEW OR THE WEEK
A Marxist Analysis of Current Events
Fri., Feb. 7 8:15 p.m.
"Crime Against The Schools"
HAROLD COLLINS
- Where Did The Violence Start?
- The "Let's Catch Up" Idea

* * * * *

Fri., Feb. 14 8:15 p.m.
"HERE I STAND"
A Discussion-Review of the just-published Autobiography of
PAUL ROBESON
Reviewer: To be announced

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Monday, Feb. 10, 8:15 p.m.
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GARMENT CENTER OPEN FORUM
In Celebration of Negro History Week. Lecture by **DR. HERBERT APTHEKER,** noted writer on Negro History. **WED., FEB. 12** (Lincoln's Birthday), 6:30 p.m., at Fraternal Club House, 110 W. 48 St. Don. 49c at door. Auspices: Garment Freedom of Press Committee.

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INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST FORUMS
A Democratic Socialist evaluation of:
Isaac Deutscher Feb. 14
Milovan Djilas Feb. 21
"Amer. Socialists," "Monthly Review," etc. Feb. 28.
Fridays, 8:30 p.m., 114 W. 14 St.

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THE GALLERY

WHEN NAT KING COLE ended his NBC-TV show in December it left the television networks as lily-white as a Klan picnic in Birmingham. He had been the only Negro performer to have his own TV program. For 64 weeks he ran a half-hour weekly variety show, ranked high on the audience ratings lists. It was carried by 77 stations, half in the South. Dozens of top stars, white and Negro, male and female, appeared as guests on the show. Tens of thousands of viewers, most white, wrote praising Cole and the show; almost none protested. It was clearly one of the best-liked programs on TV. Yet no national sponsor ever came forward and the show had to end.

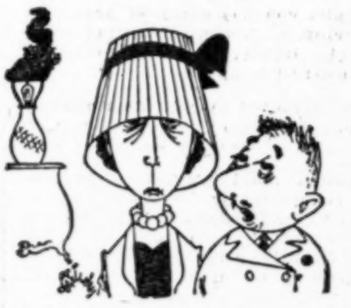
In the February issue of the Negro magazine **Ebony,** Cole tells why it happened. He says: "Ad Alley still thinks it's a white man's world . . . New Yorkers and particularly Madison Avenue control TV. . . . Despite the evidence, Madison Avenue said I couldn't be sold, that no national advertiser would take a chance on offending Southerners.

"It's a hard fact that I am a bigger drawing card than 75% of the white stars . . . why then am I persona non grata on TV? If I were selling Fords, would Fords all of a sudden look like Negroes?

"It's not the people in the South who create racial problems—it's the people who govern the South. The biggest obsession, it seems, is the mixing of races. That worries the small minded man. But the big men are worried about economics. The men who control Wall Street, the men who run Madison Avenue, are almost always thinking: 'Would it be all right if I let him get his hands on this? If I put this within his grasp, would he go too far?' Racial prejudice is more finance than romance."

NBC would like Cole back on a new, lower-budgeted show. For the future he says: "I haven't given up . . . We've broken through. The stumbling block is Madison Avenue. But no one can stop the tide. I am confident that several Negro stars will one day have their own program. It may take some time, but it's coming." The day might be moved up considerably by letters to NBC and to local papers.

JAMES THOMAS WILLIAMS of Wales has a swift way to end the cold war. He says: "I wish all the women of this country would follow Aristophanes' Lysistrata's example and thus automatically end all wars. We need a Lysistrata in this country now, and then Lysistrata Clubs would spring up all over this country. Wake up, women!"



Humanite, Paris

"PAINLESS CHILDBIRTH," a method of delivery in wide use in the socialist world, Western Europe, England, and to some extent in the U.S., is the subject of two new films: **The Most Beautiful Moment,** made in Italy; and **The Case of Dr. Laurent,** made in France with Jean Gabin in the title role . . . Tina Louise, whom **Publishers Weekly** describes as "an actress of aphrodisiac construction," is being filmed two ways in the movie **God's Little Acre** now in production. In the export version of the scene in which sunlight makes her dress transparent she wears no slip; for the domestic version she wears one.

WE ARE INDEBTED to **Northern Neighbor,** the Canadian monthly devoted to news of the USSR, for a preview of what is to come in the area of advanced technology in medicine. If you are a surgical patient of the future (not too distant) you will be put to sleep at the touch of a button by "electronarcosis" and awakened just as fast. Your surgeon will be equipped with a "supersonic knife" to make his incision by way of high frequency sound of varying wave lengths. This process will also seal off minor blood vessels and make operations almost bloodless.

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—Robert E. Light

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Also honey for pancakes, waffles or in your coffee instead of white sugar. No, don't put it in instant coffee. Get a good coffee grinder and have your caffein as it should be had.

Interested in our coffee recipe? Here it is anyway: Get the kettle boiling good. Into an old-fashioned plain coffee pot put one good scupper of fresh-ground coffee for each cup and a couple for the pot. Bust an egg in the pot—shell and all; add a good pinch of salt and a little cold water to make a paste. Pour the boiling water on the resulting mishmash, bring it back to a good brisk boil for a minute or two. A dash of cold water after removing from the burner will settle the grounds—and friends, this is coffee!

But you've forgotten your daily vitamin dose! Pour the coffee into a glass (a cup is really only half a glass) and to sweeten the taste and make sure your body isn't vitamin-starved—take a Guardian Vitamin-Mineral Canditab between your teeth and now sip your coffee.

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Ere Sleep Comes Down to Soothe the Weary Eyes
We Wear The Mask

JAMES WELDON JOHNSON
The Creation
Lift Every Voice

COUNTEE CULLEN
To John Keats
Yet Do I Marvel

LANGSTON HUGHES
I, Too
Blues at Dawn
Mother to Son

GWENDOLYN BROOKS
When You Have Forgotten Sunday

M. CARL HOLMAN
Debate of the Dark Brothers

ARMAND LANUSSE
Epigram

the SPECTATOR

Watch the birdie

CHICAGO, ILL.
JAN. 26, 1958

Mrs. Frances G. Knight
Director, Passport Division
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mrs. Knight:

I have read with gratification the N.Y. **Times** account of your brilliant plan for solving the passport problem—namely, by improving the quality of the photographs. Mrs. Knight, this idea hits the nail squarely on the thumb.

You are absolutely right. We all look terrible on those snapshots. This misrepresents our nation abroad like Hollywood movies. The fault, dear Brutus, lies not in ourselves but in our photographs. Your instructions to the men behind the black cloth to coax applicants to "put their best face forward" will evoke an instantaneous patriotic response from every citizen (except, perhaps, some Lon Chaney who may develop a frightful neurosis while deciding which is his best face).

Speaking for myself—(and if I won't, who will?) — you denied me a passport last year on the grounds that it "would not be in the best interests of the United States." At that time I thought I was being punished for playing a Paul Robeson record or reading a book illustrated by Rockwell Kent. I even suspected it was my parlor imitation of Corliss Archer which some FBI man had absent-mindedly written down as Corliss Lamont.

Now I know better. I don't feel so Hostile about having been Rejected. I realize the turndown must have referred obliquely to my unretouched 2¼ x 2¼. I see your point. Americans must not only play the role; they must look the part. We've got to get the jump on the Russians in the coming battle of astrophysiognomy.

The most exciting feature of your suggestion is the use of color photographs. What a gimmick! I suppose the source of this inspiration is classified, but I'll hazard a guess. Didn't the color idea come to you from watching Foster Dulles' face get redder and redder while he whizzes from country to country? After all, he **does** model for our passports, since he travels the fastest and the mostest in the bestest interests of the U.S.—U.S. Steel, U.S. Rubber, et al . . .

My only reservation about the new look in passport pictures is this: whenever I'm in front of a camera on official business, I invariably freeze up. I know I should appear calm, confident and carefree, but no matter how hard the photographer and I try to get me relaxed, it doesn't work. I come out of the developing tray a wanted-for-embezzlement character crowding the post office bulletin board. Sometimes you could take me for a taxi driver cursing the license commissioner under his breath.

Like most Americans I regard traffic cops, immigration officials, revenue men, congressional committees, unemployment office interviewers and jury callers as my personal enemies. Pose me for a picture connected with bureaucracy and you capture a snarling Little Caesar, contact size. Naturally this is a very unsatisfactory portrait of a good-will ambassador. To other nations of the world every American should appear six-and-a-half feet tall, sun-tanned, chisel-featured, and—above all—terribly pleased with what he's doing, like the fellows in the cigarette ads.

I don't know what can be done about my ears and my jowls, but I've got an idea for a happy, unposed picture to accompany my next passport application. When the time comes I'm going to ask the FBI if they can't spare a good snapshot of me. They must have more than they need. In my day I've walked on lots of picket lines and attended many meetings for peace and against discrimination.

As a matter of fact, when that time comes—(the Supreme Court willing)—the FBI may dump ever so many things, including its chief. You see, Mrs. Knight, you've got me dreaming. Bless you.

Sincerely yours,
Passport Applicant No. 1234567

DuBois to speak at Sun. Eve. Forum

NEGRO HISTORY will be celebrated at the Sunday Evening Forum this week and next with three lectures by and about outstanding fighters for Negro rights, at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Avenue.

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, noted Negro historian, whose 90th birthday is being celebrated this month, will be the guest speaker at the Sunday Evening Forum on Feb. 9, at 8:15 p.m. On Sunday, Feb. 16, the guest speaker will be William L. Patterson, author of the "Genocide" Appeal to the UN, and now General Manager of **The Worker.** On Friday, Feb. 14, the first public discussion review will be held of the just-published autobiography of Paul Robeson, "Here I Stand."

Admission to the Forums is $1, with reduced rates for students registered in the Marxist Theory classes at Adelphi Hall.